

# Africa Digest

JANUARY-FEBRUARY 1959

*Volume VI No. 4    Annual Subscription Twenty-five Shillings*

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## Published by The Africa Bureau

65 Denison House, Vauxhall Bridge Road, London, S.W.1. (Tate Gallery 0701)

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 SECRETARY: *Miss Jane Symonds.*



## CENTRAL AFRICA The Federation

### The New Government

FOLLOWING the victory of the United Federal Party at the general election<sup>1</sup> Sir Roy Welensky formed a new government with himself as Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs and of Defence. Other Ministers are: Home Affairs and Power, Sir Malcolm Barrow; Economic Affairs and Public Service, Mr. J. M. Caldicott; Law, Mr. J. M. Greenfield; Finance, Mr. D. Macintyre; Commerce and Industry and Posts, Mr. F. S. Owen; Transport, Mr. W. H. Eastwood; Health and Education, Mr. B. D. Goldberg; Agriculture, Mr. J. C. Graylin; Works, Mr. G. W. R. L'Ange.

The Cabinet consists of all the Ministers except the Minister of Works and has two members more than the previous Government. Mr. John Foot is Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Home Affairs, with a special responsibility for information services. Mr. J. M. Greenfield continues as Leader of the House.

### The Federation and Independence

Sir Roy Welensky said in London: "I have always maintained that we have an unanswerable case for the granting of full dominion status, but I have never lost sight of the fact that the 1960 conference is to review the present Constitution in the light of seven years' experience, and to prepare a programme that will permit the Federation going on to full independence within the Commonwealth. I have always believed in negotiation and my view is that we should regard 1960 as a year in which to formulate, by negotiation, a programme for independence." Sir Roy said independence was not sought as a matter of prestige but as "something indispensable to uniting the peoples of our new nation in partnership".

There had been considerable advancement for Africans in the five years of federation "although we are as determined as ever to resist any attempts to get us to bargain away the standards we have set in return for political appeasement".

Sir John Moffat, M.P., said in Salisbury that it was his personal opinion that dominion status at the present time would endanger the security of Africans in the Northern Territories. "This Federation was brought into being by a constitution and we are bound by its provisions," said Sir John. Federation came about in spite of the clamorous opposition of the Northern Africans. They got a federation they opposed and feared, but they also got an undertaking that the next stage in constitutional advance—dominion status—would not take place until the majority of the people agreed to it. This guarantee was in the Constitution; the people of Southern Rhodesia accepted it in a referendum and, therefore, it was doubly binding upon them. If they would agree today we could have dominion status tomorrow. "The snag is that possibly five million will not agree," said Sir John. "The Africans opposed federation five years ago and would oppose independence now for the same reason—they consider their future is made less secure. But the difference is that while it was possible for us to go ahead with federation in spite of African opposition, for dominion status this is

not so. The moral approach to this question is so clear that there can be no difference of opinion on it. We have pledged ourselves not to proceed until the majority of the inhabitants of the Federation agree. Our task is accordingly to go ahead and win that support by creating conditions here in which the African's future is secure to him. If we do not do this and if we get dominion status by any means other than in honouring our undertakings to the full, we shall demonstrate that we are unfit to govern a multi-racial State and our disappearance from the political scheme would be a tragedy to none but ourselves."

Mr. Garfield Todd, the former Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, said in London that it was more important to have unity in the Federation than dominion status. Mr. Todd, who was addressing a Press conference, said that the opportunity of building up a united nation in Central Africa would be lost if the British Government handed over control to the present electorate in 1960. The European demand for dominion status in 1960 was bedevilling everything in the Federation, as the Africans believed that the aim was to hand over the Federation to the Europeans. The Governments in the Federation would have to gain the confidence of the African and race relations could be improved by giving an African Cabinet status, he said. "Silly things like two entrances to a post office—one for Europeans and the other for Africans—will have to be done away with." (*Federation Newsletter*, December 5, 1958.)

Mr. James Callaghan, M.P., Labour Party spokesman for Colonial Affairs, wrote in *The Economist* (December 13, 1958) that the Federal Government was set in its purpose to secure control over African policy in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia (even though Britain retains nominal responsibility). "I am absolutely convinced that in the present state of European and African opinion, such a course would be morally wrong and politically disastrous."

He added: "The British people must know the background to the fateful decisions that will be taken in their name in 1960. . . . And when the British people know what breaches of past understandings with the Africans Sir Roy Welensky is asking them to connive at, it will not much matter who handles the negotiations in 1960."

Dr. Hastings K. Banda, President of the Nyasaland African Congress, wrote in the *Ghana Daily Graphic* (December 18, 1958): "The main reason why Africans oppose the Central African Federation is that it is incompatible with African governments and national states in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia." He traced the history of the settlers' attempts to get amalgamation since 1931 and went on "Those of us who were familiar with the full story, from 1931 to 1951, who knew what was behind the settlers' demand for union of the three territories, could not be deceived by change of name. . . .

"To us, it was a betrayal of the Africans' political future and interests, on the part of the British Government in London, to depart from the principle of trusteeship and paramountcy of African interests in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia. . . .

"Sir Roy Welensky's demand for dominion status in 1960 confirms our original fears that federation was desired by the European settlers as a means of gaining complete mastery over us, as they have done over our brothers in Southern Rhodesia and the Union of South Africa and to drive the nail into the coffin of any possibility of African states in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia."

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST VI, 3.

## Agenda for 1960

The Rev. Michael Scott, Director of the Africa Bureau, drew attention to the lack of clear information about what would be discussed at the conference on the revision of the Federal Constitution to be held in 1960. In a letter to the *Manchester Guardian* (December 2, 1958), he said: "Will this include a balance sheet of the advantages and disadvantages which have accrued to the respective territories? And will there be a free and full discussion of the question of secession by Nyasaland or Northern Rhodesia? If the necessary study is to be undertaken, it could not very well be left for the conference when it meets to decide on its agenda. But so far there has been no indication from either the Government or the political parties in Britain of what subjects will be before the conference for discussion and decision in 1960."

The editor of *East Africa and Rhodesia*, commenting on this letter, wrote that secession could not be discussed. Thereupon, Mr. Dennis Phombeah, Secretary of the Committee of African Organizations, wrote (January 1, 1959) saying: "I believe that your answer that there will be no discussion of secession is denied by the statement of the Chief Secretary in the Legislative Council of Northern Rhodesia on August 20: 'If Africans at that time (1960) are still of the view that they are today with regard to the continued existence of the Federation, I have no doubt whatever that they will say so, and whether this motion is passed or not no gag will be applied to them' (Northern Rhodesian *Hansard*, Col. 1706, 20.8.58).<sup>1</sup> That is a promise from the highest Government authority in the Council that secession will be discussed at the 1960 Conference. As to the assessment of the advantages that came from federation, we feel that this might well be carried out by the African Affairs Board as far as it affects Africans."

"The three territories should, I suggest, request the Board to inquire into the state of Africans in the territories since federation, and the Federal Government should provide the funds to employ economists, social anthropologists and other experts to assist them. In the two years left before the 1960 Conference, which cannot be opened before October 23, 1960, there should be time to produce a really valuable report."

## "To Hell with Federation"

On his return journey from Accra to Blantyre, Dr. Hastings Banda, the President of the African National Congress, held a meeting at New Highfield, Salisbury. Opening his speech by shouting "Kwacha" (Dawn) "Freedom" and "To hell with Federation", Dr. Banda told the audience of 1,500: "They can do what they like to me. They can send me to prison. They can kill me. I will never give up my fight for freedom. We have to be prepared to go to prison. We must fill the prisons, millions of us, not just one."

He said his job was "to break this stupid and hellish Federation" and to gain self-government, freedom and independence. "That is my job and I mean to do it. If they send me to prison I do not mind. They can put me on the Seychelles like Makarios, or St. Helena like Napoleon."

He appealed to Africans to "prepare for the struggle". Dominion status was being sought so that the Federal Government could control the laws and Africans could be treated as were "their brothers and sisters in South Africa"

On his arrival at Blantyre he said that his policy was one of "non-violence, passive resistance and civil disobedience". Congress would have to decide whether to boycott the recruiting of Nyasaland's Africans for the South African mines. He was 100 per cent against this recruitment. He added: "The European has had the opportunity to lead the African, but has lost it. There is no use Welensky or Verwoerd whining about the rising tide of African nationalism. It is simply a reaction to European domination. In Nyasaland we mean to be masters, and if that is treason, make the most of it." (*Rhodesia Herald*, December 22 and 23, 1958.)

Subsequently, Dr. Banda was barred from entering or remaining in either Northern Rhodesia or Southern Rhodesia. The Southern Rhodesia Government said that while Dr. Banda was in Salisbury recently he "spoke violently against the Federation and expressed his determination to break it. He also described himself as an extremist and urged his audience to be prepared to go to jail." (*The Times*, January 5, 1959.)

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST VI, 3.

## U.F.P. Policies

The Standing Committee of the United Federal Party in Northern Rhodesia has recommended that although the U.F.P. is strongly opposed to several features of the new Constitution, the Party should contest the election in March "with a view to participating in the Government"; that if the U.F.P. wins the election it should not participate in the Government, however, unless the Governor accepts the advice of its leader on the appointment of unofficial members to the Executive Council.

A Special Congress of the United Federal Party in Nyasaland agreed unanimously to contest the next territorial elections to the Legislative Council on a party basis. This is the first time party politics have been brought into the territorial field in Nyasaland.

Mr. J. Z. Savanhu, African elected member of the Federal Assembly, was chosen, at the caucus meeting of the U.F.P., to become one of the three Parliamentary Whips. (*Federation Newsletter*, January 16, 1959.)

## Kariba

The Commission of Inquiry (consisting of Sir John Griffin, the Rev. J. C. Houghton and Chief Shimumbi) appointed to investigate the Gwembe Valley incident, in which eight Africans were killed and thirty-two injured when police fired on armed demonstrators, reported that the police acted throughout in a defensive role. The primary source of the opposition to the movement of the people to resettlement areas a long distance away was among Chief Chiwepe's people. It was exacerbated by the influence of local people claiming to act in the name of the African National Congress. Two officers of Congress, at the time when opposition was being experienced in the Chiwepe area, had emphatically denied it was ever the policy of the Congress to oppose necessary evacuation of land to be flooded and resettlement in adequate alternative areas. But both said it was possible that Congress members might have spoken and acted in the name of Congress without having authority to do so. (*N.R. Press Communiqué*, November 26, 1958.)

George Clay (*Observer*, December 7, 1958) wrote: "The African reaction to Kariba varies from simple anger at the sight of lush tribal land disappearing under a man-made lake to a sophisticated suspicion that this is just the prelude to further exploitation of Africans. But very few Whites in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland have cared or dared openly to face the real challenge of Kariba: that if it does what it is meant to do it will bring about an industrial revolution in the Federation, with an inevitable ensuing demand from the workers in the new industrial society—the Africans—for a greater political stake in the country. Nor have the Africans in the Federation shown much appreciation of this prospect. Perhaps they find it difficult to believe that the White Government's reaction to an industrial revolution in the Federation would be any different from that of the Whites in South Africa."

"Even if the Whites remain reluctant to concede significant advancement to the Africans of their own accord, they may well find it impossible to resist these demands as industrialization increases the economic power of the Africans."

## Mineral Production

The Central African Statistical Office *Digest* shows the following figures for value of the annual output of mineral products of the Federation:

	1953 (in 000s)	1957
Copper	£89,735	£89,137
Asbestos	£6,543	£9,016
Gold	£6,479	£6,788
Chrome	£2,928	£4,517
Coal	£2,569	£3,920

(*Nyasaland Information Bulletin*, December 3, 1958.)

## Northern Rhodesia

### The New Constitution

THE British Government has decided not to make any alteration in the proposals for constitutional changes in Northern Rhodesia detailed in the



White Paper published in September.<sup>1</sup> The Colonial Secretary said in a dispatch to the Governor that the proposals "as they stand represent the fairest reconciliation of the interests of the various communities, having regard to the special conditions of Northern Rhodesia, and that no change in them would contribute further to this object".

Modifications that have been made include the one that if the Governor cannot find suitable persons for appointment to the Executive Council from among the unofficial members of the Legislative Council, then the Executive Council should be considered complete even without the full numbers proposed—four *ex officio*, four European elected members and two Africans. The requirement that candidates in the six special constituencies should obtain certificates of approval from two-thirds of the Chiefs in the constituency is confirmed. The dispatch requested the Governor to arrange for the Chiefs to be advised that they should not refuse certificates on such grounds as tribal identity or party political affiliation. On the appointment of Ministers in the Executive Council, the Governor should consult with, and pay due regard to the advice of, "the member of the Legislative Council who as a party leader is in the Governor's opinion most likely to command the support of a majority of the elected members of the Legislative Council" and in making his selection he should "first consider elected members".

*The Times* (December 19, 1958) commented: "On the law-making side the proposals seem fair. They do break down the purely racial system of representation which has proved in other places to be a political dead end. They do slightly improve the position of Africans within the chamber. And they leave enough Government members on the official benches to ensure that at this stage ultimate power does not pass wholly out of Government hands."

"The crux of the whole matter is, however, the composition of the Executive Council. This Council is the policy-making body for the country. Here the unofficials outnumber the officials by one, and if a conflict arises between the five official Ministers and the four European elected Ministers, then the two African 'unofficials' who are to sit on the Council will hold the balance. The Secretary of State retains, as he should constitutionally do until the future of the whole Central African Federation comes under review in 1960, the ultimate reins of power firmly within his hands. At the same time he places a great responsibility upon the Governor, when the time comes, to select the right individuals for these posts."

*The Economist* (December 27, 1958) described the system as such a refinement of fancy franchises that it would be unseasonable cruelty to readers to describe it again, and went on: "Although nominally publicly rebuffed, Sir Roy Welensky must be hugging himself in private. By putting up requests of his own for the Colonial Secretary to turn down, he has certainly helped to ensure that Mr. Nkumbula's representations would be rejected too."

Sir Roy Welensky commenting on the decision said: "We believed that we had a very strong case indeed for certain modifications in the scheme and we spared no pains to present our case as strongly as we could." He and the Minister of Law had been unable to persuade the U.K. Ministers to agree to any major change in regard to the main points of objection. But at least they had managed to persuade the Colonial Secretary to instruct the Governor that in his choice of unofficial Ministers he must consult and pay due regard to the advice of the elected majority leader. To enable the Constitution to work, however, it would clearly be necessary for the successful party not only to win a majority among the unofficial members, but to secure also the election under its auspices of some African candidates of the potential required to do duty as African Ministers. (*Federation Newsletter*, December 31, 1958.)

Mr. Winston Field, Leader of the Opposition, said: "It is quite obvious that Sir Roy Welensky's visit to London was a dismal failure." (*Rhodesia Herald*, December 12, 1958.)

*The Rhodesia Herald* (December 19, 1958) called it a triumph for Sir Arthur Benson, the Governor. "To all intents and purposes Mr. Lennox-Boyd has cast aside the views of Sir Roy. The significance of this will not be lost upon the electorate, who might have expected that more attention would have been paid to a Prime Minister who had an overwhelming majority in a Commonwealth parliament—a parliament containing repre-

sentatives of the territory to which the constitutional proposals will apply." Previously Mrs. J. Grimond in a letter to *The Times* (November 27, 1958), on behalf of the Africa Bureau, expressed apprehension about the Constitution, and said: "Britain has solemn obligations to this Protectorate and therefore the Bureau cannot condone the transfer of further political responsibility to the European minority, which will be the practical effect of the changes. . . ."

"Though it is claimed that the changes now proposed will go some way towards removing the communal element from the political life of the territory, the new proposals will in fact only increase race resentment and impose qualifications which comparatively few Africans can reach. Already it is evident that the proposals do not inspire Africans with confidence that any respect is paid to their demands or aspirations. The obligations of Protectorate status and trusteeship necessitate the specific inclusion of Africans in the Legislature until the franchise is broadened to give them a more equal share in the choice of all representatives."

Lord Hastings (*The Times*, December 10, 1958) challenged this: "To say that the new constitutional proposals for Northern Rhodesia effect 'the transfer of further political responsibility to the European minority' is simply not true. In fact the European elected members will not have a majority in either Legislative or Executive Council. The statement that 'the new proposals will in fact only increase race resentment' is not a fact at all; it is an expression of opinion with which most of those most qualified to judge do not agree. It is true that franchise qualifications of a high order have been imposed, but it must be remembered that hitherto Africans enjoying a protected status have never had the vote and that the lower qualifications for the special voters' roll will enable many thousands of Africans to take part in the next elections, if they take the trouble. . . . Whereas the Secretary of State's proposals do not mention Africans or Europeans as such, which is surely one of its great virtues, nevertheless the franchise is to be of such a nature and the constituencies so designed that in fact eight Africans will be elected to the Legislative Council—a 100 per cent increase on their present membership."

In reply (*The Times*, December 15, 1958) Mrs. Grimond said: "These proposals will in fact increase the number of European representatives from twelve to fourteen and reduce the officials from eight to six. The number of Africans elected to the Legislative Council will be eight and although this may be, as Lord Hastings says, a 100 per cent increase in African membership it will not result in a 100 per cent increase in African representation . . . two of these representatives will in fact be chosen largely by European votes, whereas in the present Legislative Council in addition to four African members two Europeans are nominated by the Governor to represent African interests, making six in all."

"Under the new proposals Europeans, who make up only 3 per cent of the population, will determine the choice of fourteen Europeans and two Africans, while Africans, who make up 97 per cent of the population, will choose only six representatives and in this respect they will not be able to count on more representatives than they enjoy in the present Legislative Council."

On November 27, 1958, the Colonial Secretary initiated a debate on the constitutional proposals, but said that no alterations to the fundamental principles would be made which were that "the arrangements made should be, as far as possible, such that participation in the political life of the country will depend not on race but on other criteria designed to measure capacity to make a useful contribution".

Secondly, "for the time being the Governor and his official advisers must remain in a position, in case of necessity, to hold the balance on issues which affect the interests of one community or another and are controversial. . . . Thirdly, that the people of Northern Rhodesia should be given increasing opportunity to take part in the conduct of the territory's affairs."

Mr. L. J. Callaghan (Labour) pointed out that there are "65,000 Europeans who are to have fourteen members in the Legislative Assembly. There are 2 million Africans who are to have eight members. There will thus be one member for every 5,000 Europeans and one member for every quarter of a million Africans, and this in a territory three times the size of Britain." He added that in the twelve ordinary constituencies where it was

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST VI, 2 and 3, and Cmd. 530.

estimated there were 18,800 European voters and 17,200 African voters, "by a simple stroke of the bureaucratic pen, we divide every African vote by three, and instead of there being 17,295 African votes, the number is reduced to 5,765. This is called democracy. It is a system which nobody can feel proud of, and I put it to the Colonial Secretary that it would be far more honest to have genuine communal elections than the jiggery-pokery of this procedure of having votes devalued and boundaries specially drawn, which does nothing to disguise the truth from any African who has the capacity to understand it and takes the trouble to master it." He commented: "The whole scheme stinks of racialism from beginning to end. . . . My basic objection to these proposals . . . is that they will increase and not diminish the tension. . . . They will endanger the long-term future of the Europeans in these territories and not make it more safe."

Mr. J. Grimond (Liberal) said: "One of the things that concerns Africans to whom I have spoken is the effect that these proposals will have on the conversations which take place in 1960 and with the representations of Africans when 1960 comes. I know of nothing which has lessened the need for this country to remain, at least for a considerable time, responsible for ensuring that the rights of the Africans in Northern Rhodesia are protected. I believe that the Government would be well advised to turn their face firmly against dominion status and that if they were to make a statement to this effect it would have a reassuring effect."

Mr. M. MacPherson (Labour) asked "if in the Spring of 1959 when the next election takes place, out of the 2 million Africans of Northern Rhodesia only 10,000 or 20,000 are able to vote—and the maximum figure I have seen is 24,000—how, in 1960, if it becomes necessary, will it be possible to get an expression of the opinion of the inhabitants of the territory?"

Mr. B. Braine (Conservative) said the proposals we advance must be on the lines proposed if the idea of federation were accepted. Mr. J. Stonehouse (Labour) said: "The whole thing is an absolute fraud, and we in this House should admit it to be so. To claim that the White Paper is an exercise in partnership is sheer dishonesty. It is an exercise in European domination."

Mr. P. Maitland (Conservative) feared that "if we say in the House things which have the effect of dividing opinion in Northern Rhodesia, instead of uniting it, of encouraging criticism of the federal project rather than encouraging people to rally behind it, we may well tend to scare away capital and the means of development, upon which in the end the full universal franchise which we all want will depend for its stability and success".

Mr. G. A. Pargiter (Labour) said: "Even if these proposals were to lead to a much wider franchise, the African population would ask what guarantee they would have about what would happen under dominion status. We would say, of course, that we would include entrenched clauses. Well, we all know what happened to the entrenched clauses in South Africa. They have gone with the wind, and, in exactly the same way, if a party in power in that Dominion thought fit, any entrenched clauses would also go the same way."

Mr. A. G. Bottomley (Labour) made an accusation of gerrymandering. In his reply for the Government Mr. C. J. M. Alport, Under-Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, said that the "Federation since it was formed has more than justified the expectations which we had before 1953 of this bold political experiment. . . . Her Majesty's Government do not contemplate any possibility of amalgamation or secession in the future. We believe that the Federation has come to stay." The resolution was carried by 296 votes to 238.

Before the debate Sir Roy Welensky described the proposals as a flat betrayal of the principle of racial partnership. (*The Times*, November 18, 1958.)

After the debate, Mr. Harry Nkumbula, president of the Northern Rhodesian African National Congress, who came to London together with two of the hereditary chiefs of the Protectorate, Senior Chief Shakumbila and Paramount Chief Undi, to protest against the proposals, said they were deplorable. The confidence of Africans in Colonial government would be seriously impaired, as the intention of the proposals was to continue White

rule. Tension through political frustration among Africans was assuming dangerous proportions. (*Daily Telegraph*, November 29, 1958.)

Commenting on the debate the Rhodesian *Sunday Mail* (November 30, 1958) said the Labour Party was a party of race prejudices. The *Rhodesia Herald* (November 29, 1958) described Mr. Callaghan's speech as "a magnificently doctrinaire example of smug self-satisfaction and cant". After drawing attention to the British failure in Ireland, Cyprus and the Middle East, it went on: "What Mr. Callaghan is saying is that the Europeans who live in the Federation do not know where they are going, that they cannot or will not see that they are committing suicide, that their salvation lies in taking the Labour Party road. He does not concede that the Federation cannot follow a path similar to that of South Africa. He does not accept that there is goodwill among the Europeans of the Federation."

"We can come to no conclusion other than that the political parties of Britain are playing politics with the Federation, as they have played with British territories all over the world for many years."

Mr. G. Philip Robinson, the chairman of the Manchester and District Council for African Affairs, wrote of his Committee's concern to learn that during the debate the "Gallery could have outvoted the House many times over". It would appear that, though they were not interested in the debate, most of the 534 M.P.s who voted were just sufficiently interested to vote on the instruction of their party Whips, on a subject of which they knew very little and about which they apparently cared still less. (*Manchester Guardian*, December 6, 1958.)

## Appeal to Privy Council

When fifty-four Africans were detained<sup>1</sup> during a strike in the Copperbelt by order of the Provincial Commissioner for the Western Province of Northern Rhodesia they successfully applied for writs of habeas corpus on the grounds that they had been wrongfully imprisoned.

One of them, Mungoni, has been granted leave to appeal to the Privy Council. He contends that there were defects in the emergency powers—and the exercise of them—under which the Government acted. (*Manchester Guardian*, December 1, 1958.)

## Night Passes

The Government has abandoned the system of night passes for Africans in all minor townships and it has invited the local authorities of major townships to make further trials with a view to amending their by-laws. The *Rhodesia Herald* (November 24, 1958) said: "We do not believe there is much of a case for night passes in Northern Rhodesia. The territory does not depend to any great extent on immigrant labour. . . . In any case, there is no doubt whatsoever that if an African requires a night pass he is able to obtain one, by fair means or foul." It said that despite the problems of migrant labour in Southern Rhodesia since the Government is beginning to clamp down on the flow of migrant labourers from outside the borders of the Federation why not release indigenous Africans from the need to carry night passes?

## Union Officials

The European Mineworkers' Union has created a new post of organizing secretary and appointed Mr. Fred Ackroyd, a 33-year-old Yorkshire miner. Mr. Jack Purvis, the union's general secretary, was attacked by several branch meetings. Subsequently the Executive Committee of the union passed a vote of confidence in Mr. Purvis and asked the dissident branches to substantiate allegations they had made. Later several branches including the one at Bancroft passed a vote of confidence in Mr. Purvis and the General Council. (*Federation Newsletter*, December 12 and 19, 1958.)

## Federal M.P.s

Messrs. D. L. Yamba and F. B. Chembe were elected as specially elected African members of the Federal Assembly. The electoral college<sup>2</sup> numbered 289, each with two votes: 362 votes were cast. Mr. Yamba, who sat in the last Federal Assembly, topped the poll with 56 votes: Mr.

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST VI, 3. <sup>2</sup>DIGEST VI, 3.

Chembe got 54. Among the thirteen unsuccessful candidates were Mr. L. Katilungu of the African Mineworkers' Union (47 votes), Mr. P. Sokota, M.L.C. (45 votes), and Mr. M. Kakumbi, who was a M.P. in the last Assembly (18 votes).

Sir John Moffat was reappointed as specially nominated European member. (*Federation Newsletter*, November 28, 1958.)

### A New Congress<sup>1</sup>

The new Congress body which split away from the Northern Rhodesia African National Congress under the leadership of Mr. Harry Nkumbula constituted itself as the Zambia African National Congress. At an inaugural conference attended by over sixty delegates the following office leaders were elected: K. D. Kaunda, President; P. Kalichini, Vice-President; M. Sipalo, General Secretary; W. K. Sikalumbi, Vice-General Secretary; S. M. Kapwepwe, General Treasurer; R. C. Kamanga, Vice-General Treasurer.

The Zambia Congress claims support of more than 300 African Congress branches. Under the regulations of Societies Ordinance, there are 433 registered branches of the N.R. African National Congress. At the first National Council of Z.A.N.C. held in Lusaka on December 24-27, 1958, resolutions passed demanded the immediate suspension of the new Constitution; stated that no African should register as a voter; that no African should attempt to stand as candidate at the forthcoming general elections and those who have been registered should not vote at the forthcoming elections, and asked for the setting-up of a Constitution Commission to prepare a democratic Constitution based on the principle of African self-government.

It expressed its uncompromising opposition to federation in its entirety, asked for African majorities in the Legislatures of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, which should then pass a vote of secession; reaffirmed a total boycott of the Federal electoral roll and proposed the creation of the Federation Dismemberment Council, comprised of representatives from Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, whose duties shall be: (a) to employ all non-violent methods possible to dismember and break down the Federation; (b) to intensify the spirit of African Nationalism in these territories and bring together Africans in the battle for their national rights.

On the other hand, Mr. R. M. Nabulyato, M.L.C., said that the African vote was the only weapon that could save liberalism from being killed in Central Africa and urged all Africans qualified to register as voters. He added: "If Africans become voters members of the Legislative Council will be careful how they handle African affairs."

Similarly, Mr. Titus Mukopo, secretary of the African National Congress, while expressing disappointment at the refusal of the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Lennox-Boyd, to accede to demands made on behalf of Congress, said that in this particular case a boycott of elections would not provide the best answer. To fail to register would be tragic. It would make a bad case hopeless. "The African National Congress is not optimistic about the outcome of all this. . . . The only reason why we are trying to do everything possible is so that when it fails or works to our disadvantage we shall be able to advance concrete reasons in the hope that from them may evolve something fairer at some future date." (*Northern News*, December 22, 1958.)

## Nyasaland

### Debates in the Legislative Council

MR. N. D. KWENJE moved a resolution that no department or part thereof be handed over to the Federal Government before 1960. He said that he had in mind especially non-African agriculture. Mr. H. B. Chipembere said that the ownership of land by Europeans might be tolerated as long as the control of land or all activities based on the land was under the Territorial Government, in which there was some measure of confidence, but it could not be tolerated if the Federal Government came in in any form.

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST VI, 3.

In his reply, Mr. P. W. Youens, the Acting Chief Secretary, quoted from a letter sent by Messrs. Blackwood, Dixon and Little (all members of the Legislative Council) refuting the statement of the Blantyre Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Central Africa.<sup>1</sup> This letter said: "The unrest which has arisen has been deliberately stirred up by persons inalienably opposed from the outset to federation, who are neither prepared to consider the facts of the case for it, nor to give it a fair trial nor to listen to any argument, however objectively presented, which does not fully accord with their preconceived opposition to the case for the association of the three territories . . . the unrest has been caused and is being perpetuated for the most part by people of ill-will, intent on pursuing a policy which will deny the peoples of Nyasaland, particularly the poorer indigenous people, many of those wants and needs which they have a right to expect and require."

Mr. Youens said that the federalization of non-African agriculture was not concerned with the status of land and added: "The road leading away from federation is not the road to freedom as you so often tell us, but, as I have said before, it is a road into slavery of ignorance and want." The motion was defeated.

During a debate on a motion that the Government take all possible measures to ensure that all persons could move in the streets in safety and not be subject to threats, intimidation, insulting behaviour and/or violence, Mr. L. A. Little said that certain elements were prepared to use any means, however foul, to advance their political ambitions; they were ready to overthrow law and order to achieve their ends. Mr. M. H. Blackwood said "not one of the African members has seen fit to denounce violence".

Mr. D. W. Chijozzi said the motion was harmful because it was a warning to people outside who might invest capital in the country that Nyasaland was not a peaceful country. Mr. Chipembere said that there must be something basically wrong in the administrative system for a peace-loving people like those of Nyasaland to be provoked to acts of violence so suddenly. He went on: "It is not acts of violence that are the result of actions of any politician—they are the result of mistakes in the administration and history is full of acts of violence committed by members of the public who have desperately sought for reform and have failed to achieve that reform by ordinary peaceful means. We find it very difficult, indeed impossible, either to condemn or support the recent acts of violence. We do not know the causes—at least we are not perfectly sure. The one cause that we know about, and the one cause that we advance, is rejected both by the Government and our friends the European unofficial members of this Council. We therefore leave it to them to find out the root cause and deal with it. We are not going to participate in the matter in any way. All we shall do is to advise the Government that if they don't bring about certain fundamental reforms they are most likely to see a continuation of those acts of violence."

Mr. Chipembere added that since the rising of John Chilembwe (in 1915) until 1953 there had been a peaceful Nyasaland: since 1953 there was continual upheaval and unrest: the cause was federation.

The motion was carried: the African members abstained.

Mr. Chipembere moved a resolution deploring the bad administration which had resulted in the breakdown of discipline, the closure of schools and the dismissal of students.<sup>2</sup> He quoted from a letter sent by the Director of Education to various education officers and principals which said: "Government is concerned to learn that on occasion Nyasaland Government officers have failed to do their utmost to stimulate confidence in federation. I must ask you to ensure that you and all European officers serving under you are fully aware that it is the duty of every officer to promote great confidence in the Federation, and in particular to take the greatest care that any personal fears or doubts are never publicly expressed. You will realize that any failure in this respect can only foster distrust in the minds of the African people which it is Government's policy to dispel."

"You, and your officers, should also clearly understand that the Federal Departments in Nyasaland are an integrated part of the total Government service provided for the public and that such Departments should receive exactly the same co-operation and assistance as they would have if they had remained in the Territorial sphere."

<sup>2</sup>DIGEST VI, 1.

<sup>3</sup>DIGEST VI, 3.



"Should any officer wish to criticize any action of the Federal Government, he should make all reasonable attempts to resolve difficulties on a friendly basis between Territorial and Federal officers [but if these] have failed, complaints should be conveyed to me in secret, and I will take such action as is necessary.—Signed R. F. Stowell, Director of Education."

In his reply, Mr. L. A. C. Buchanan, Deputy Director of Education, said that the incidents were not isolated but part of a campaign which had been begun in December 1957 by Mr. Chipembere in Blantyre. At Dedza Dr. Banda had addressed some forty pupils without permission. Mr. Mvula, the teacher against whom the pupils had protested, was a former policeman who had taken teacher training in one year rather than two and who became available for posting as the school for children in the police camp for which he was destined had not yet been built.

Mr. J. H. Ingham (Secretary for African Affairs) said that Congress was sowing the dragon's teeth by instilling into schoolchildren hatred of established authority: it would reap the result.

The motion was lost.

Mr. Chipembere moved a resolution deploring Government's oppressive and discriminatory attitude towards the Nyasaland African Congress and condemning Government's action in seeking to provoke animosity against Congress among chiefs. He read a letter from Chief Mwase stating that he had been instructed by the Provincial Commissioner that as a Native Authority, he (Chief Mwase) should not speak at or attend Congress meetings. Mr. Chipembere gave a number of other instances.

Mr. Ingham said since it was the policy of Congress to oppose the basic policies of Government, chiefs, as Native Authorities, could not participate in such opposition and carry out their duties. With regard to the holding of meetings, chiefs had the obligation to preserve law and order.

Mr. Youens said: "Good order is the foundation of all things and all things must be subordinated to it, including freedom of speech and including freedom of association."

The motion was not put. (*Nyasaland Hansard*, December 3 and 4, 1958.)

### "Brinkmanship"

The *Central African Examiner* (December 6, 1958) said that the initiative to improve, or vastly to worsen, the situation in Nyasaland, which pessimists described as being on the brink of the greatest trouble it has ever faced, lay with the unofficial members of the Legislature and with the Federal Government. Now that the election was over it was necessary to be statesmanlike and not political. It was sheer madness for some settlers to talk about having a "show-down" with the African nationalists over the federalizing of non-African agriculture. The benefits were limited: some subsidies, the availability of some Southern Rhodesian extension officers and—overshadowing the rest—a return of confidence among farmers, who could shelter under the Federal "umbrella" from political storms, and an incentive of greater security to offer new outside investors.

The election had produced as Federal M.P.s some low-calibre European reactionaries and four African nonentities (because of the effective African Congress boycott). This made a mockery of both Partnership and African representation. The next eighteen months would be uncertain ones.

The *Central African Examiner* also discussed the opposition to Dr. Banda being shown by Mr. W. M. Chirwa. The latter might profit from Dr. Banda's inconsistencies, especially on the question of Asians and because of his autocratic position of a virtual dictator within the Congress Party. The basic problem was that of federation. The whole of African nationalism in Nyasaland revolves around the premise of secession, and to hesitate is to lose support. However wide the split may be between African factions, it is unlikely to take the form of disagreement over secession.

### New Security Regulations

New security regulations provide for penalties up to a fine of £100 or five years' imprisonment for persons carrying unauthorized weapons in any meeting or procession. They also give all police officers of the rank of assistant inspector and above, and all administrative officers, power to stop or disperse any assembly, meeting, or procession.

During the debate on the Bill to amend the Police Ordinance, the African members of the Legislative Council protested. Mr. H. B. Chipembere said that it was the feeling of African members and the organization to which they belonged that some of the recent events had been grossly exaggerated by "certain mischievous persons, including newspapers, for motives unknown to us". He alleged that some incidents had been deliberately provoked by the police themselves. Some so-called processions had, in fact, been harmless gatherings to welcome their leader, Dr. Banda. Certain junior police and administrative officers were too irresponsible to have such powers, Mr. Chipembere asserted. "As a result of granting these powers we shall have more riots in the country," he added.

Mr. J. R. N. Chinyama asked if the Government felt that it would stop African political advancement with this Bill. He added: "We do not want any trouble, but peaceful political advancement, and we cannot do without assemblies and meetings." Mr. N. D. Kwenje said the Bill was the result of fear. He urged the Government to withdraw it and preserve the peace of the country. The Bill was passed. (*The Times*, November 28 and December 3, 1958.)

Clyde Sanger reported that trouble was brewing in Nyasaland and that it was on the brink of racial strife as a result of federation. He gave four reasons: the policy of the United Federal Party at the recent Federal elections; the imminence of the new constitutional proposals which will not be sufficient to meet African demands; the belief among Africans that they must secure freedom before 1960; and the growing land hunger. (*Reynolds News*, December 14, 1958.)

### Welensky Accused of Interference

In a letter to the Colonial Secretary, Mr. W. M. Chirwa, former Federal M.P., said of the constitutional proposals: "It seems to me the Government has deliberately delayed the announcement in order to give Sir Roy Welensky an opportunity to discuss this matter with you—while in London to discuss Northern Rhodesia's constitutional proposals." Mr. Chirwa says: "This would be a breach of the understanding that political advancement for Africans would be the responsibility of Her Majesty's Government and not the Federal Government. I take strong objection to such an arrangement." (*The Times*, November 24, 1958.)

The Governor, Sir Robert Armitage, asked political groups to make proposals for reforms which are due by 1960. The Nyasaland Association (with about 500 members), the only territorial political party, has set up a joint committee with non-European bodies such as the Coloured Community Association, the Progressive Association and the body led by Mr. C. J. Matinga, Federal M.P. (*Federation Newsletter*, December 12, 1958.)

### Dr. Banda Criticized

Denying the charge that he proposed starting a new party to fight for Nyasaland's independence within the Federation as opposed to the Congress aim of independence outside the Federation, Mr. W. M. Chirwa, former Federal M.P., said that Dr. Banda's leadership was "absolutely dangerous to the African people and the world at large". He did not seem to believe in co-operation and understanding with other leaders. (*Rhodesia Herald*, November 12, 1958.)

Mr. Harry Nkumbula, president of the Northern Rhodesian Congress, described Dr. Banda as being "blinded by hatreds, and irresponsible", because at the conference in Ghana, Dr. Banda said that Africans in Northern Rhodesia were not as strongly opposed to federation as were the Africans in Nyasaland. Mr. Nkumbula said that the question of federation would be raised by "the free States of Africa" at the next session of the United Nations. (*Pretoria News*, December 29, 1958.)

## Southern Rhodesia

### Town Planning and Africans

Six schemes for African recreational centres in the peri-urban areas of Salisbury are to be put before the Southern Rhodesia Government, the Prime Minister, Sir Edgar Whitehead, told a delegation which presented him with a petition signed by 1,024 people objecting to the establishment of an



African recreational centre in the Borrowdale area. Other areas (Mabelreign, Meyrick Park and Marlborough) plan to fight proposals to site African centres near them and propose that an African township should be established some five to ten miles from the nearest European plots.

Mr. M. R. Dickman, leader of the objectors, said: "This kind of planning is a shameful breach of the spirit of the Land Apportionment Act."

In the Salisbury Town Planning Committee there was discussion as to whether the newly established multi-racial Capital Club should be asked to move. The Club, of which Lord Malvern is a member, occupies premises adjacent to the Capricorn Africa Society which also has a mixed membership. Mr. D. Divaris, chairman of the Town Planning Committee, said that they intended to create a multi-racial zone in Salisbury in April 1959. Alderman C. Olley said Africans had no rights in the city. There was no need to mark seats in the park "Europeans Only"—the African had no right to be there at all. "We must insist that Advocate Charles (chairman of the Capital Club) must take his pals somewhere else." (*Rhodesia Herald*, December 13, 17, 18 and 19, 1958.)

The *Rhodesia Herald* (December 15) commented: "For racial, personal and social reasons Europeans object to living side by side with Africans. Whether these objections can be sustained on a long-term basis is doubtful. The African has become so integrated in the general economy that racial segregation, however desirable, is impossible on grounds of expense alone. It may well be that the Select Committee will be able to suggest or recommend short-term palliatives, but as the country grows so will the African population increase tremendously and the problem will have to be squarely faced sooner or later. The longer this is put off, the greater the problem will become."

The *Sunday Mail* (December 7, 1958) said that the objections provided ammunition for Dr. Banda and will certainly make Sir Roy Welensky's delicate task of trying to persuade the British Government that we are fit for independence in 1960 doubly difficult. It also referred to the meeting of representatives of Southern Rhodesian local authorities which had decided against the establishment of multi-racial hotels in European areas.

### Congress Leader Fined

The secretary-general of the Southern Rhodesia African National Congress, George Bodzo Nyandoro, was found guilty on two counts of contravening the Public Order Act. For telling an African funeral gathering that the deceased had been killed by Europeans, he was fined £25 (or one month) with a suspended prison sentence of two months; for telling a meeting that African women should refuse to obey the Native Commissioner when told to make fire breaks on their land, he was fined £10 (or fourteen days). (*Pretoria News*, December 3, 1958.)

### African Runner Triumphs

Yotham (John) Muleya, aged 19, a technical college student, from Lusaka, beat Gordon Pirie of Britain by 100 yards in a 3-mile race at an invitation meeting held at the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. His time was 14 minutes 48.3 seconds.

Widespread indignation was expressed before the race because the Southern Rhodesian Amateur Athletics Association banned Muleya for running on grounds of race. Its chairman, Mr. W. R. du Bois, said: "We shouldn't compete with natives at any time. Mr.—whatever his bloody name is—this Kaffir has never even sent a formal application to run at our meeting. Even if he had satisfied the conditions of the track and judges, we don't count natives' performances as records." (*News Chronicle*, November 28, 1958.)

Subsequently the ban was overruled by the "parent" body for the Federation, the Rhodesian Athletic Union, which is affiliated to the International Amateur Athletic Federation and does not operate a colour bar.

Protests against Mr. du Bois's remarks came from Northern Rhodesia and Britain, but a Salisbury sports editor, after the race, urged the case for separate amateur associations for Africans. The backing given to Muleya by British colonial authorities in Northern Rhodesia was resented. (*Daily Telegraph*, December 11, 1958.)

The *Johannesburg Star* (December 1, 1958) reported that the Europeans in Southern Rhodesia were divided in much the same manner as they were

politically in regard to their attitude—should a Black man be allowed to run against White men, and said South Africans were sceptical and of the opinion that partnership is only a high-sounding phrase for use when it is politically advantageous. On the different sports it said: *Cricket*: Indians have played White teams for twenty-five years: there are occasional matches between African and European sides: the University plays mixed opponents and will soon have a mixed side. The Indian Deputy High Commissioner, the Rajah of Alirajpur, complains that he cannot get a game in a European team. *Hockey*: Much the same as cricket. *Rugby*: Has not yet arisen, but it may at the university. *Soccer*: Except for games between some service units, a fairly rigid *apartheid*. *Tennis*: Leading European players have friendly games on private courts with some Africans. *Swimming*: No mixed competitions.

## EAST AFRICA

### Royal Visit

QUEEN ELIZABETH the Queen Mother commences a tour of Kenya on February 5 when Her Majesty will arrive at the new Nairobi airport. The Queen Mother will then visit Uganda where she will lunch with the Kabaka of Buganda and visit the Murchison Falls National Park. (*The Times*, December 3, 1958.)

### Need for Books

Development and progress in East Africa could not go ahead without its people being able to take full advantage of the benefits of a modern world, through textbooks, said Sir Bruce Hutt, Administrator of the East Africa High Commission, in his presidential address to the East African Library Association at their first conference. Sir Bruce spoke of a feeling among some people that lending libraries in a largely illiterate country were a waste of time and money. This attitude was rapidly changing, and people realized that East Africa could not go ahead and develop its resources without parallel development in the minds and character of the people.

He added: "The development of our library services should not be left to the determination and enthusiasm of a few far-sighted individuals; they must come to be regarded as an integral part of the educational and recreational life of these territories—at least to the extent of giving them as much official support as possible." There was a need for some central authority to promote public library development and advice on spending of available money.

Mr. C. G. Richards, Director of the East African Literature Bureau, addressing the conference referred to the need of statutory boards or committees through which libraries could be developed. He hoped the time would come when each territory would have a board with the responsibility for developing library services, and through whom all Government expenditure on libraries could be channelled. Such a board would be able to attract gifts of books or of funds, and spend them in planned development.

During 1958 the East African Literature Bureau published fifty-seven new books and made thirty-nine reprints; sold 306,950 books; loaned 212,000 books through the libraries; and distributed 175,000 copies of *Arrow*, the popular magazine in English for schools.

The Bureau launched two new periodicals, *The Key*, a magazine for adult literacy classes and the *Kenya Educational Journal*, for teachers; and sold 10,000 books from its Mobile Bookshop provided by the Kenya Government. (*E.A. High Commission Press Release No. 190 of 1958*.)

## Kenya

### African Constitutional Proposals Rejected<sup>1</sup>

MR. TOM MBOYA, M.L.C., visited London in December in order to discuss constitutional issues with the Colonial Secretary. At a Press conference (December 3, 1958) he said that Mr. Lennox-Boyd had been informed of his pending visit a few days before he left Kenya on November 23 and had agreed to see him. But while Mr. Mboya was on his way to

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST VI, 1.

London Mr. Lennox-Boyd told the House of Commons that in a dispatch to the Governor of Kenya on November 24 he had said: "The proposals that the number of African Constituency Elected Members in Legislative Council should be increased and that the specially elected seats and the Council of State should be abolished run directly contrary to the principles underlying the present constitutional arrangements which were put into force as recently as April of this year . . . any new arrangements must rest firmly on four main principles: (1) the maintenance of a Government in which all races in the country take part; (2) a limited but final increase in communal representation in the Legislature; (3) the creation of opportunities for representation in the Legislative Council based on the non-communal principle; and (4) the institution of a body of local people who from their background of wisdom and impartiality can prevent unfair discrimination detrimental to any community. I linked those principles with a decision that the proportions between and within the groups for whom the specially elected seats are preserved shall not be varied during the next ten years and that any alteration in the total number of such seats or in the method of filling them will be subject to the approval of the Council of State. In the months that have elapsed since the new Constitution came into force I have been aware of no circumstance which would justify any major departure from the settlement made by Her Majesty's Government. . . ."

"For these reasons I cannot agree to the proposals relating to the increase in the number of African Constituency Elected Members, the abolition of the specially elected seats and the abolition of the Council of State."

Mr. Lennox-Boyd also said that in his view the arrangements for the Council of Ministers should be "afforded extensive testing" after which he would be very ready to consider whether further adjustments were necessary.

In referring to the declaration of principles in the memorandum and the statement of the aims of the African Elected Members' Organization, Mr. Lennox-Boyd said he naturally respected their evident desire to aim at a democratic solution and he continued: "The concept of democracy relates as much to the type of society to be found in any country as to the particular features of the machinery of government. It has been the experience of countries like the United Kingdom that the evolving machinery of government has kept pace with the changing features of the social scene and particularly with the development of a fairly homogeneous population, where geographical unity and a sense of corporate nationhood have superseded through a process taking centuries to complete the cultural, racial and religious cleavages which for long divided the country. . . ."

"One important feature of a mature society is a readiness to accord weight and respect to the opinions and interests of numerically smaller groups and a complementary confidence on the part of such groups. This must underlie the free working of fully developed democratic institutions. It is therefore to the promotion of a sense of nationhood that we must advance and I can conceive no more potent instrument to this end than the development of a multi-racial or non-racial Council of Ministers in which policies can be evolved aiming at an integrated approach to the blending of the aptitudes and aspirations of the various communities in a sense of national purpose and achievement. . . ."

"I venture to express my hope that African members of the Legislative Council will be prepared to enter discussions, first of all with you as Governor and thereafter with the other groups, so that a determined effort can be made to create a basis for mutual understanding."

Commenting on this dispatch, Mr. Mboya said: "An examination of the policy statements and constitutional proposals of the African elected members since 1957 will show that they have consistently made allowance for participation in the government of the country by all racial groups, subject to the ultimate development of a democracy based on individual equality when communal representation shall be replaced by a genuine democratic system. Also, while rejecting the special seats, the African members asked that the round table conference should discuss the workability of a common roll. . . ."

"The Asian communities have given their support to the African demand for negotiations leading to an agreed constitution. The Indian Congress in April 1958 resolved that: 'If by December 31, 1958, the African

elected members have not joined or agreed to serve in the Council of Ministers, or if by that date no effective arrangements have been made or a clear Government undertaking given to appoint a Commission, to be followed by a round table conference, the Standing Committee is hereby instructed to immediately call for termination of participation by Indian members in the work of Legislature, including specially elected members under the Lennox-Boyd plan, and to call on Indian Ministers, if any, to resign forthwith from the Ministry.' The Muslim League, at their conference in October 1958, also called for a round table conference. . . ."

"The Secretary of State's attitude, as reflected in his more recent statements and in his dispatch, constitutes a surrender to the extreme settler viewpoint. By this attitude, a situation is created in Kenya which will inevitably require that the African members and the African community review their tactics. There can be no question of the African elected members participating in the Government under the present Constitution."

"The British Government must be called upon to fulfil its proper responsibility to the African people of Kenya. We shall not tolerate continued European settler domination or the possibility of any transfer of power into the hands of the European settlers. We cannot be held responsible for any tensions and conflicts that may arise from the frustration of our legitimate demands."

Following a statement issued by the African Elected Members Organization, five African members—D. T. arap Moi, R. G. Ngala, J. J. M. Nyagah, B. Mate and J. K. Tipis—resumed their seats in the Legislative Council on December 4.<sup>1</sup>

## Minister Reports Support for Constitution

The Minister for Agriculture, Mr. Michael Blundell, said on his return that he was delighted and greatly encouraged by the greater knowledge of Kenya's problems which was being shown in Britain.

"The Conservatives expressed full support for the Lennox-Boyd Constitution and assured me that no member of the Conservative Party was in agreement with any policy of domination in Kenya by any one racial group." The Labour Party leaders expressed full support of the principles inherent in the present Constitution and added a very strong wish that the various leaders in Kenya would be able to create the conditions for friendly discussions—as suggested in the Colonial Secretary's dispatch. (*Kenya Newsletter*, December 1958.)

## Subversive Organization?

The Government of Kenya has stated that it is investigating information supplied by Group Captain L. R. Briggs which suggests the existence of a subversive organization on lines similar to the Kenya African Union and Mau Mau.

The Government is taking action on the assumption that the information supplied by Group Captain Briggs is reliable, but at the moment there has been no evidence to indicate the existence of any new plot against law and order.

The Minister without Portfolio, Mr. Norman Harris, told a meeting of the Convention of Associations in Nairobi that there need be no fear that the events of 1951 would be repeated. Group Captain Briggs said that the new organization planned to incite strikes and civil disobedience and intended to play down the *Kiama Kia Muingi* (another secret society, which was proscribed in January) until the time to strike was ripe. Money was being collected and intimidation practised.

Group Captain L. R. Briggs, M.L.C., speaking at Nanyuki said it would seem that the pursuit of good government no longer provided the political motive force, but rather the lust for personal power and the unprincipled use of racial hatred and racial discrimination in reverse was the weapon. The European community was not easily alarmed, but it might well become angry if the Government did not face up to what was clearly an obvious threat.

He believed that there was no cause for alarm but for awareness. The country was much better equipped and organized to deal with violence than before Mau Mau. There had also been a significant change in public opinion in the U.K. and in world opinion. The great contribution made by

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST VI, 3.

Europeans to improving the living standards of backward people was becoming increasingly recognized. Moreover, events in certain other countries demonstrated that self-government had been thrust upon them too soon, and the growing trend towards political banditry in other countries also had a profound effect. (*East Africa and Rhodesia*, December 11, 1958, and January 1, 1959.)

## African Aims

Dr. Gikenya Kiano, the African elected member, speaking in Nairobi, outlined a ten-point plan under which African political leaders "intend to step up their political pressure in order to get things we want".

Dr. Kiano told the meeting: "We want to make it very clear to the people of this country that by 1960 this country of ours will have a certain measure of self-government. This will involve a constitutional change under which the people who are in the Council of Ministers will be responsible directly to the elected members on the Legislative Council, and so to the electorate."

He foreshadowed a change in the electoral system, and said that in the next election every man and woman would have a vote, adding: "We have determined that nobody shall cast a vote unless all have a vote." He urged that the "nonsense" of loyalty certificates be brought to an end. Dr. Kiano emphasized that the time had come to end the emergency, and accused Group Captain Briggs (Mount Kenya), who recently announced the existence of a subversive organization, of "creating fear and suspicion" in a way that would necessarily prolong the emergency. "The European is afraid we are getting the spear ready and we think the European is getting the pistol ready, and this is creating suspicion," Dr. Kiano said.

He told his audience that if they wanted violence he was not with them—"but if someone is stepping on my toe I will keep at him until he stops stepping on my toe and they are stepping on our toes now". (*The Times*, January 10, 1959.)

## Government Policy

In a statement of policy<sup>1</sup> the Kenya Government has said that "The uncovering of the proscribed secret society called *Kiama Kia Muingi* is an unhappy reminder that the evil of the Mau Mau doctrine and of secret societies lingers on among some Kikuyu, and that some members of that tribe are not yet proof against the horror and debasement of these evil creeds. *Kiama Kia Muingi* is nothing less than a revival of the Mau Mau passive wing in another form, employing the usual technique of intimidation and incitement to violence by means of oaths as degrading as any employed by the Mau Mau. Up to the end of September 478 adherents, male and female, of this secret society have been prosecuted before the courts and it has been necessary to detain 289 others. . . .

"The Government has been greatly helped by chiefs, headmen, and loyalists who have come forward with information. In contrast to the investigations into Mau Mau in the early days of the emergency, the people in areas affected by K.K.M. have been much more ready to assist the authorities. . . .

"So long as the *Kiama Kia Muingi* presents a threat to security Government will not be able to make further relaxations to the Kikuyu, Embu and Meru. . . .

"There has been a spectacular reduction in the Mau Mau population of the prisons and detention camps, from a peak of 18,110 convicts and 53,500 detainees in 1955 to some 4,250 convicts and 13,000 detainees in 1957 until, at the end of September this year, only some 900 convicts and 5,830 detainees remained in custody. By about March 1959 there will be less than 2,000 Mau Mau convicts and detainees left in custody. These will be men whose minds have been so corrupted by Mau Mau that they have not yet been successfully reformed, or those whose known crimes render them unacceptable as inhabitants of the areas from which they come. Persons who fall into either of these two categories will be settled on an irrigation scheme at Hola in the Coast Province under such security conditions as are necessary and where concentrated efforts at their reformation will continue to be made.

<sup>1</sup>Sessional Paper No. 1, 1958-9, Nairobi.

"Very few of the 70,000 detainees who have been released have come to unfavourable notice. . . .

"Some 55,000 ex-detainees have been placed in employment or resettled, and the Government intends to expand the irrigation scheme in the Embu district to provide land for the landless and work for the workless. Half a million acres were consolidated in the Central Province by August 31. Fees are being paid under the provisions of the Native Land Tenure Rules, 1956, and the fact that £50,000 had been collected by the end of August clearly shows that those who benefit are prepared to bear a large portion of the expense of the operation. . . .

"The Colonial Development and Welfare grant of £5½ million towards the Swynnerton Plan, 1954-59, and the greater part of the generous contribution given by the U.S.A. from International Co-operation Administration funds will be exhausted during the coming year. Thus in 1959-60 agricultural development will require to be financed from the Colony's own development funds, with little assistance from outside; this may reduce the tempo of development. The European Agricultural Settlement Board will continue to pursue the policy of attracting sound agriculturists with capital to this country. Recently the Government has again evidenced its full confidence in the future of European settlement by guaranteeing borrowings by the Board's subsidiary, Lands Ltd., from insurance companies and other sources to the extent of £500,000. . . .

"Government intends to introduce legislation to set up suitable machinery through which statutory minimum wages in agriculture may be determined." (*East Africa and Rhodesia*, December 25, 1958.)

Mr. John Cusack, Minister of Internal Security, told the Kenya Legislative Council that Jomo Kenyatta would be eligible for release from prison on April 14 next, having completed three-quarters of his seven-year sentence for managing the Mau Mau movement.

Replying to a question by Mr. F. J. Khamisi, an African elected member, Mr. Cusack said it was planned to place restrictions on Kenyatta's movements on termination of his imprisonment, in accordance with a recommendation by the court which passed sentence.

In reply to another question, the Minister said a convict at Lokitaung prison had been punished for attacking Kenyatta. The prisoner, named Chotara, had been sentenced by a visiting justice to seven days' solitary confinement, seven days' reduced diet and six strokes with a cane. The Commissioner of Prisons had confirmed the punishment, but had amended the sentence by ordering an additional six strokes of the cane. Chotara, a notorious Mau Mau terrorist, tried to seize Kenyatta by the throat, but Kenyatta received only minor bruises. (*The Times*, December 10, 1958.)

## Jomo Kenyatta's Trial

During his visit to London, Mr. Mboya announced that he was asking the Secretary of State for the Colonies to institute an inquiry into the situation created by the affidavit sworn on November 22, 1958, by Mr. Rawson Mbogwa Macharia, one of the principal witnesses for the prosecution in the case against Jomo Kenyatta and five others in which he stated: "I admit that my said evidence was false, and so false to my knowledge, in so far as it tended to implicate any of the accused persons in the commission of the offences with which they were charged and particularly with regard to an alleged initiation ceremony on March 16, 1950, at a place called Kiamwange in the Kiambu District implicating the first accused Jomo Kenyatta. I state unequivocally that there was no such meeting or ceremony at such time or at all nor was the said accused Jomo Kenyatta either a participant in or present at any proceedings of the nature described at any time or any place to my knowledge. I further state that a number of other prosecution witnesses were to my knowledge similarly procured and suborned to give false evidence for the prosecution in the said trial and to the best of my knowledge and belief gave such evidence therein."

Together with the affidavit Mr. Macharia revealed the contents of a letter marked Secret and allegedly written from the Attorney-General's chambers at Nairobi on November 19, 1952, confirming the alleged offer to him of (a) an air passage to the United Kingdom at £278; (b) two years' course in Local Government at a university at £1,000; (c) subsistence for his family for two years at £250 and stating:

"... In the event of the above named being murdered for providing



evidence, Government will undertake the maintenance of his family and the education of his two sons.

"At the end of the two years' course in Local Government the above named will be offered a post by the Kenya Government."

The *Manchester Guardian* (December 4, 1958) said that the Kenya Government should lose no time in carrying out the fullest inquiry. "To fulfil its purpose the inquiry must have such judicial standing as will enable it to call for testimony from whoever may be able to throw light on this affair, and especially the other witnesses alleged by Mr. Macharia to have been suborned. Its findings will carry more conviction if it is drawn from outside the ranks of the Kenya Administration."

Mr. Dingle Foot, M.P., said that the Labour Party would not be satisfied unless the Government agreed to set up a judicial inquiry into the allegations.

The *Times* (December 18, 1958) reported that nine men who were stated to have been present at the alleged initiation ceremony were called by the defence during the trial, and all denied that there was any truth in the statements made by Macharia. Legally there was nothing to prevent a new application being made for leave to appeal to the Privy Council, provided that Kenyatta so instructs his solicitors. So far two appeals have been made to the Privy Council and both were rejected.

On January 5 it was announced that the Government had decided that a judicial inquiry should not be held into the allegations. Instead the Attorney-General had instituted criminal proceedings against Mr. Rawson Macharia on a charge of having sworn a false affidavit. Mr. Macharia was arrested. In court he said: "Everything in my affidavit which I admit having sworn is true. I am guilty of perjury in Jomo Kenyatta's case but not guilty of this offence." (*Manchester Guardian*, January 5 and 6, 1959.)

An application to the Supreme Court for bail was refused. Mr. Justice Rudd said he was not satisfied that if bail was granted Macharia would stand trial. He was inclined to think that Macharia had really hoped in the first instance for a public inquiry rather than a prosecution.

Mr. D. N. Pritt, Q.C., who was leading counsel for the defence at Kenyatta's trial, has been briefed to defend Macharia. (*The Times*, January 8, 1959.)

### **Allegations Against District Officer**

A settlement has been announced of the libel action by Mr. Charles Ryland, District Officer at Lokitaung in Kenya, against the *Observer* newspaper. The action arose out of a letter published on June 8, 1958. Mr. Colin Duncan appearing for Mr. Ryland said there was no truth whatever in any of the allegations against Mr. Ryland contained in the letter which alleged that prisoners had been beaten in the most brutal manner, that owing to an insufficient and unbalanced diet they had become prone to many kinds of diseases.

Mr. H. Milmo, for the *Observer*, said that he was instructed to express the defendants' sincere apologies to Mr. Ryland for having given publicity to an attack upon him which they now recognized was entirely unjustified. (*The Times*, December 19, 1958.)

### **Proposed Leaders' College**

Plans for building a leaders' college, modelled on the best public schools in Britain, where boys of all races would be educated, have been formulated by the Kenya specially elected members. It is estimated that the college will cost about £350,000 and at first will give instruction to 250 boys between the ages of 12 and 18. This figure can eventually be increased to about 600.

Explaining the project, Mr. H. Slade, one of the specially elected members, said: "We see an urgent need for the beginning of integration of education among children of different races, particularly potential leaders. We think that the more independent of politics it is, the better it will be. Our design is to establish for Kenya a secondary boys' school modelled on the best public schools in Britain." He added: "It has got to be the school of Kenya. It is bound to involve fairly high fees, but we think it is essential that there should be scholarships and bursaries for the children of poorer families and we look to commercial trusts as well as private individuals to assist." (*Kenya Newsletter*, January 1, 1959.)

## **Tanganyika**

### **Support for Law and Order**

LAW and order has to be maintained, Mr. Julius Nyerere, the president of the Tanganyika African National Union, told a meeting of 10,000 people at Mwanza. He said he felt obliged to put right a number of misconceptions about the objects and aims of T.A.N.U. which existed in Sukumaland. The T.A.N.U. of today was quite different from that of yesterday. Some people thought that a membership card gave them power to open shops without a licence, to refuse to pay taxes, and generally to release citizens from their obligations to the law. "This is wrong," Mr. Nyerere said. "T.A.N.U. intends its members to obey the laws of the country. All other countries have laws, irrespective of the party in power."

Mr. Nyerere said he had also heard a suggestion that taxes would be reduced when self-government came about. "This is highly improbable," he said. "It is most probable that taxes will be raised. We must put our hands in our pockets because we need more schools and hospitals."

Nobody wished to see large forces of police in the country, because this meant heavy expenditure and demands on the country's financial resources. "But if there is considerable lawlessness it is obvious that there must be a police force," he said. If all members were law-abiding citizens and accepted the law, it would help to reduce the necessity for maintaining a large police force.

Mr. Nyerere went on to talk about racial discrimination. He said that the question of colour no longer existed in present-day politics. He himself was educated in Europe, where there were thousands of Africans living side by side with Europeans, and the question of a colour bar never arose.

It was T.A.N.U.'s intention to do all that it could, now that it had been accepted as a representative organization of the people, to further the aims of self-government. Some people were quite satisfied with the British administration, but to be ruled by another nation was an "indelible disgrace". Self-government had been obtained in almost every other continent except Africa.

Throughout Mr. Nyerere's speech the crowd was extremely orderly and afterwards they moved away quietly back into the town. (*Tanganyika Standard*, November 25, 1958.)

### **More Election Preparations**

A total of 30,791 voters have registered for the second phase of the general elections in February. This represents an increase of 1,951 on the number who registered for the September elections.

The five constituencies affected are: Central Province, Southern Province, Dar es Salaam District, South-East Lake, and West Lake.

### **Parity Criticized**

Mr. Yaw B. Turkson (Ghana) in the course of a debate in the U.N. Trusteeship Council described the parity structure of the Legislative Council as "a rather curious perversion of democracy". He continued: "Why racialism should be thus enshrined in the voting system of a United Nations Trust Territory is a question which passes our understanding. Mr. Chairman, this is inadmissible, particularly when such a system is patently a violation of the spirit of the Charter. One man one vote, this seems to us a fair principle. When a system is introduced which obliges one man to divide his vote into three, and to give each part of it to a man of a different race, one cannot help wondering what reason the Administering Authorities can have for establishing such an institution . . . it is difficult to accept the explanation that the 'parity system' has been devised as a transitional period to full racial harmony and democracy. How can such an undemocratic system based on racialism lead to racial harmony and democracy?"

Dr. Gebre-Egzy (Ethiopia) said that parity was not sufficient; the Africans should have "an edge" on representation. There would then be fuller co-operation between the races "because the African will then believe that he is master in his land".

The *East African Standard* (November 7, 1958) reported that the demand for greater representation of Africans in the government of Tanganyika was the theme of speeches by several delegates of the Afro-Asian



bloc. The Burmese delegate, for example, said the present system of representation savoured of a theory of supremacy of a particular race. The Spanish delegate, Mr. Manuel Aznar, who spoke after the Ethiopian delegate, criticized the "political passion" which he said crept into debates in the Trusteeship Committee.

### Press Law Challenged

The Tanganyika Government has agreed to reconsider a section of the penal code which has been hotly debated in the Legislative Council, and which makes it an offence to print, publish, or make public a statement likely to raise discontent among the inhabitants or promote ill-will among the different classes and communities. So far, the only case brought under the section had resulted in the imprisonment of the editor and assistant editor of a Swahili paper and the consequent boycott of the European and part of the Swahili Press by Africans, and this was the exact opposite of the result desired. Mr. Julius Nyerere, Leader of the Opposition, said that any action necessary could be brought under the Sedition Act, and therefore this "racial law" was unnecessary. (*The Times*, December 12, 1958.)

### Freehold Titles for Africans

Freehold titles to land are to be available to Africans in Tanganyika, and in appropriate areas the Government will encourage the transition from Native customary tenure to individual ownership. Paper No. 6 of 1958 entitled "Review of Land Tenure Policy" says *inter alia*: "It has been the practice of the Government to grant rights of occupancy to both Non-Africans and Africans over areas which have been demarcated for individual use. The holders of rights of occupancy granted by the Governor have been given written individual titles but occupiers of land in accordance with Native law and custom have been given no documentary titles, and the disposition of such land has been left in the hands of the traditional tribal land authorities.

"Thus only the holders of written rights of occupancy and the relatively few owners of freehold land have enjoyed the advantages of individual tenure, other occupiers of land have only usufructuary rights on communal tenure in accordance with Native law and custom.

"The economic advance of the Territory has now reached a stage where it is essential that, if the standard of living of the African population is to be further improved, better use must be made of the land, particularly in areas of high productivity. The Royal Commission on Land and Population has pointed out that both better land use and an improvement in the African standard of living can be attained by the adoption of a policy aimed at the individualization of land ownership." (*East Africa and Rhodesia*, December 25, 1958.)

### Speaker's Resignation

Sir Barclay Nihill, Speaker of Tanganyika Legislative Council, has resigned, because there had been adverse criticism, during the budget debate, of the fact that he was "a non-residential Speaker". Mr. A. Y. A. Karimjee, Deputy Speaker, has been appointed Speaker in succession to Sir Barclay Nihill.

Mr. Karimjee has been a nominated member of Tanganyika Legislative Council since 1949. (*Uganda Argus*, December 15, 1958.)

## Uganda

### Constitutional Committee

A COMMITTEE, largely composed of Legislative Councillors, is to be set up soon to consider the problems involved in holding direct elections on a common roll in 1961 for Representative Members of Legislative Council. The Governor announced the committee's terms of reference. They provided for it recommending to him what form the direct elections on a common roll should take, how many seats should be filled by them, how those seats should be allocated in the country and how adequate non-African representation on the Council could be ensured.

Sir Frederick gave what he termed "a clear and unequivocal statement" regarding the position of the traditional rulers in Uganda. He said it was still too soon to say what the constitution of Uganda would be when

self-government came, but it was Government's firm intention to seek provision in all constitutional developments so as to secure the rulers a position which would appropriately reflect their traditional status and prestige.

Sir Frederick also dealt with Government's plans for Africanizing the Uganda Civil Service. He recalled that Government's aim was to fill one-quarter of all posts on the "A" and "B" scales with African officers within the next five years—and a larger proportion of posts in the "C" scale. The achievement of those targets, he said, was an important part of Government's policy. (*Uganda News*, November 17, 1958.)

### Katikiro's Action Lost

The action brought by the Katikiro (Prime Minister) of Buganda against the Attorney-General of Uganda has been dismissed by Mr. Justice Bennett in Kampala High Court. The judge found that the Katikiro was under a legal duty to take the steps required of him under the agreement to secure the election of persons for appointment by the Governor as representative members to the Legislative Council.

Mr. Justice Bennett said that the Katikiro had sought three declarations. Firstly, that the present Legislative Council was not the same Legislative Council referred to in the 1955 Buganda Agreement. Secondly, that he was not bound to take the steps laid down in the agreement to elect representative members for Buganda on to Legislative Council. And thirdly, that until the Council was reconstituted so as to be the same as that referred to in the Buganda Agreement and contemplated at that time there was no procedure for electing representative members to it.

He continued that Mr. Phineas Quass, Q.C., who appeared for the Katikiro, had contended that the appointment of a Speaker to Legislative Council in place of the Governor had been a fundamental change in the constitution of the Council. Mr. Quass had said that by the virtual disappearance of the Governor from Legislative Council the Baganda has lost the protection of the Crown which previous treaties and agreements had given them. The disappearance of the Governor's original and casting vote had upset the balance in the chamber. On behalf of the Attorney-General, Mr. B. McKenna, Q.C., had said that the recommendations of the Governor and the Namirembe Conference that there should be no major constitutional changes in the Protectorate before 1961 were irrelevant to the construction of the Buganda Agreement.

Mr. Justice Bennett supported Mr. McKenna's submission. He said: "I fail to see any ambiguity in the expression 'the Legislative Council of the Uganda Protectorate'. There were not two or more Legislative Councils in existence when the Buganda Agreement was signed, nor were there two or more Legislative Councils in existence at the date on the institution of the suit, and there never have been."

What Mr. Quass had been trying to do, although he had not admitted it, said the judge, was to import into the Buganda Agreement a stipulation that there should be no major changes in the constitution of Legislative Council prior to 1961. He continued: "Article 7 prescribes two conditions for the representation of Buganda in Legislative Council. Those conditions are (a) that at least three-fifths of all representative members of Legislative Council are Africans and (b) that one-half of the membership of the Council is African. It is conceded by the plaintiff that these two conditions have been satisfied. It would be wrong for the Court to imply a third condition as to which Article 7 and the agreement as a whole is silent." It was common ground, the judge said, that there had been changes in the constitution of the Legislative Council since the Buganda Agreement was signed. "In my judgement the Legislative Council in existence at the date of the filing of the suit is the Council referred to in the second schedule to the Buganda Agreement of 1955 and is the Council which was within the contemplation of the parties at the time when the agreement was signed. I also find that the Katikiro is under a legal duty to take the steps required of him by the second schedule to the agreement. The three declarations sought by the plaintiff are accordingly refused and the plaintiff's suit is dismissed." (*Uganda News*, November 26, 1958.)

### Buganda Independence Demanded

The Buganda Lukiko has asked the Kabaka to make a "formal approach" to the Queen with a view to reaching agreement on ending the

1894 Treaty and all subsequent agreements. The memorandum, which was drafted by a five-man committee led by the Buganda Minister of Health and Works, Mr. A. K. Sempa, was accepted unanimously.

The memorandum places on record "the appreciation, shared by all His Highness's subjects, of Her Majesty's Governments' efforts, during a period of sixty-four years, in promoting the interests of the Baganda people which have resulted in progress in various spheres of human activity".

After referring to the 1894 Agreement and the additional agreements of 1900 and 1955, and the deportation of the Kabaka in 1953, the memorandum concludes—"In view of the foregoing and because we are convinced that the time has come for the handing over to us of our sovereignty, we urge that the Treaty and Agreements come to an end on the results of an understanding on the following points: (1) The manner of handing over to us of our sovereignty; (2) The discussions on the future position of Non-Africans in our country—to see how they can live amicably side by side with us after the Queen to whom they are responsible has surrendered her protection over us; (3) It is evident that according to the terms of the 1894 Treaty there are other territories in Uganda which obtained British protection by virtue of that Treaty, and that it follows that anything touching the Treaty affects those territories. It is therefore intended that discussions be held with a view to creating a workable formula between ourselves and those territories; (4) The future relations between the Baganda and the British on matters affecting our mutual interests within the British Commonwealth of Nations." (*Uganda News*, December 16, 1958.)

An assurance that Buganda did not wish to secede from the remainder of Uganda but wanted a self-governing Uganda to have a federal constitution, which would enable all parts of the country to regulate their own affairs, was given by the Katikiro at the final meeting of the Lukiko.

The Kabaka formally dissolved the Lukiko on December 31, and the new Lukiko assembled for the first time on January 9, when it re-elected Mr. Michael Kintu as Katikiro. He received sixty votes against thirty for his opponent, Mr. Y. K. Lule, Minister of Social Development in the Protectorate Government. (*Daily Telegraph*, January 12, 1959.)

## The Political Scene

Gordon Maclean writing for the *Observer* Foreign News Service (November 28, 1958) said: "Having emerged all-powerful from Uganda's first general elections, the country's oldest political party, the Uganda National Congress (U.N.C.) may provide the badly needed rallying-point around which the embryo of a unified African State can be built. The disunity which has held up all progress towards self-government for over a year has been a source of serious concern to the African nationalists of the neighbouring countries of Kenya and Tanganyika. It was with a view to patching up the domestic quarrels of Uganda politicians that Tom Mboya, from Kenya, and Julius Nyerere, from Tanganyika, recently visited Kampala. They came as emissaries of the Pan-African Freedom Movement of East and Central Africa (P.A.F.M.E.C.A.), the newly-formed body pledged to co-ordinate the nationalist programmes of countries in this geographical region. . . .

"The widest breach (in Uganda) is that between the African nationalists and the ultra-conservative Baganda leaders who want the continuation of tribal traditions and customs and resent the intrusion of party politics and democratic ideas. In order to preserve the status of the Buganda Kingdom, these 'traditionalists' would see their tribal area become an autonomous State and favour separatism rather than surrender to democratic rule in self-governing Uganda. As a result of their attitude, party politics have been virtually outlawed in the Kingdom of Buganda and the 'traditionalists', who dominate the Baganda's local parliament, the 'Lukiko', succeeded in keeping Buganda out of the recent general elections. But elsewhere enthusiasm for the first general elections was tremendous, and, in contrast to the small numbers of African voters who registered in Kenya and Tanganyika recently, registration in Uganda exceeded 650,000. . . .

"Although there were no elections within Buganda, the party showing the greatest sympathies with the 'traditionalists', the Uganda Congress Party (U.C.P.) suffered a total defeat at the polls, providing clear proof that there is little popular support for the 'traditionalists'.

"Although they were forced to return to their respective homes un-

successful in persuading Uganda politicians to bury the hatchet, Mboya and Nyerere came near persuading them to unite. But they did see some progress. Instead of a welter of parties, aiming in different directions and arguing over religion as well as politics, there are now only two major trends in the Protectorate. Both are striving for speedy self-rule, but while one group pursues a policy without coming into open conflict with the Baganda tribalists, the other regards this group just as much a barrier to their progressive aims as the Protectorate Government and the Colonial Office."

The *Kenya Weekly News* (December 5, 1958) commented: "The political scene in Uganda has never been more confused. . . . The High Court rejection of the Kabaka's Government plea that Legislative Council is not the body they pledged themselves to support under the 1955 Agreement caused a lot of excitement, but . . . as pointed out some weeks ago, the case was largely irrelevant to the basic situation. . . .

"Meanwhile, what is the Protectorate Government going to do? . . . Most observers feel that the next step will be for the Governor to tender 'formal advice' to the Katikiro requiring him to return Baganda representatives to Legislative Council. If this request were not complied with, the next constitutional step would be to order the resignation of the Kabaka's Ministers and the formation of a new Cabinet. . . .

"One solution would be to tender the formal advice but, if it were ignored, not to take further action during the remaining few weeks of the present Ministry's life. Similar formal advice would then be tendered when the new Ministry had taken office. This, however, would still not solve the basic problem. 'The plain fact is,' remarked a legal expert recently, 'that the operation of the 1955 Agreement depends on the willingness of both parties. It is neither designed nor worded so that it can be successfully forced on an unwilling partner. Sir Keith Hancock himself recognized this when he called upon both parties to support the agreement in the spirit as well as in the letter. If either party is determined not to support it there are many ways in which the agreement can be made unworkable.' . . .

"Are the interests of Buganda and of the Central Government so utterly opposed that we cannot have a 'cards on the table' conference between the Kabaka's Government and Protectorate Government in an effort to reach an interpretation of the 1955 Agreement, or even yet another new Agreement, which will be acceptable to both sides? Those Baganda traditionalists who are not merely interested in hanging on to their jobs are profoundly convinced that the mass of tribesmen are not yet ready for a fully democratic type of government. Looking at current events in Ghana, they conclude that an attempt to establish completely democratic self-government in Uganda will result merely in replacing rule by traditional monarchs and tribal customs with rule by political slogans and strong-arm mob leaders.

"The Protectorate Government, too, must be aware of this possibility. Sir Frederick Crawford has repeatedly expressed Government's determination to safeguard the position of traditional rulers. Surely the traditionalists and the Protectorate Government could find common ground here for broad agreement on the country's future development? It is certainly in their interests and in the interests of the country as a whole to do so."

## Zanzibar

### Muslim Institute Proposed

A WORKING party is to be set up to consider details for the establishment in Zanzibar of a Muslim Institute for the teaching of religion, history and Arabic, to Muslim students from East Africa and Nyasaland.

The chairman of the conference, Sir Bruce Hutt, Administrator of the East Africa High Commission, expressed the hope that the working party would report to him within the next three months. The composition of the working party will be announced later.

A conference on Muslim Education reached this decision after discussions based on the report of the fact-finding mission on Muslim education made by Professor R. B. Serjeant of the School of Oriental and African Studies and Mr. V. L. Griffiths, who was for many years in the Sudan, and

who is now a member of the Department of Education at Oxford University. (*Public Relations Department, Dar-es-Salaam, November 24, 1958.*)

### Leaders Banned from Kenya

Sheikh Ali Muhsin, president of the Nationalist Party of Zanzibar, and Mr. Abdul Rahman Mohamed, the Party's general secretary, were refused permission by immigration officials to stay in Mombasa on their way back from the All African People's Conference at Accra. They spent five hours in an enclosure at Nairobi and then took a plane to Mombasa. (*Uganda Argus, December 18, 1958.*)

## British Somaliland

### New Governor

MR. D. B. HALL, 49, Secretary for Native Affairs in Northern Rhodesia, has been appointed Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Somaliland Protectorate in succession to Sir Theodore Pike, whose term of office will expire in May.

### New Legislative Council and Elections

Elections to fill thirteen seats in the new Legislative Council will be held on March 18, 1959. The Council will consist of the Governor as president, up to seventeen official and up to sixteen unofficial members of whom up to three will be nominated by the Colonial Secretary. Unofficial members will be invited to be associated with the workings of groups of departments and called into consultation with the Executive Council from time to time. The aim of this is to provide training in the responsibilities of government. (*Hansard, November 27, 1958.*)

There will be two types of electoral areas: (A) Three constituencies of Hargeisa township, Burao township and Berbera district with election by secret ballot by registered voters. A voter must be at least 21 years old and a British protected person or subject; and either owner of a dwelling or lessee of land or have paid current house tax or a licensed trader or a Government employee of two years' service or a member of the Armed Forces or in receipt of a Government pension or in regular employment for two out of the last three years or the owner of a registered and currently licensed vehicle or occupy land on his own account for agriculture or horticulture or the owner either personally or jointly with his immediate family of ten camels or ten head of cattle or 100 sheep and goats.

(B) Ten constituencies covering the rural areas, where the bulk of the population is to be found. A voter must be male, at least 21 years old and a British subject or protected person. There are no property qualifications and voting will be by acclamation.<sup>1</sup> (*Somaliland News, December 22, 1958.*)

## Somalia

### Problems of Independence

DR. A. A. CASTAGNO, of the University of Columbia (New York), who visited the Somali regions on a Ford Foundation grant in 1957-58, described some of the problems facing Somalis in the Trust Territories of Somalia and in four other areas.

Essentially a nomadic people, the Somalis spill out over the boundaries of the Trust Territory into the Northern Province of Kenya, the Ogaden Province of Ethiopia, British Somaliland and French Somaliland. With a population of 2,500,000, of which about one half resides in the Trust Territory, the Somalis—a Hamitic people—constitute one of the largest ethnic units of Africa south of the Sahara. Their social system is approximately the same in all five regions, and though inter-tribe and intra-tribe enmities have long characterized relations, these antagonisms are diminishing in Somalia.

Economically the Somali region is one of the poorest in Africa south of the Sahara.

Islam continues to play an important role, but modern nationalism is

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST VI, 1.

the main ideological stimulus to Somali unification among the sedentary population, and it is beginning to reach the nomads who constitute 85 per cent of the total Somali population.

There are two complex and related problems: (1) The disparity in the politico-administrative development of the five Somali inhabited areas; (2) The concept of Greater Somalia—the unification of all Somalis under one flag.

Among the Somali regions, Somalia is the most viable economically, despite the fact that she suffers a 50 per cent deficit in her balance of payments and in her internal budget. It is also in Somalia that one finds the highest degree of political maturity and nationalism. Under the aegis of the British Military Administration from 1941 to 1950, the Somali Youth League (S.Y.L.) was born and nourished by a vigorous political leadership consisting of such men as Haji Muhammad Hussein, Abdullahi Issa, and Aden Abdullah. Its political programme of independence, extirpation of tribalism, and unification of all Somalis was pursued through an efficient party organization that brought the new creed into the other four Somali regions. The other political parties were essentially tribal or regional in their orientation, but all upheld the need for detribalization and all aspired towards national unity.

In 1956, national direct and indirect elections were held. The S.Y.L. obtained a large majority of the votes cast and soon afterwards formed the first all-Somali Government and dominated a Legislative Assembly which was given full legislative powers over domestic affairs.

In the same year, all the regions and districts were "Somalized", as were the bulk of responsible posts in the central administration.

Only foreign affairs and defence remain in the hands of the Administering Authority and Somalis are occupying key positions in both areas. The Administrator has the power of veto, but is cautious in exercising it. This swift devolution of authority is accompanied by one of the largest education programmes ever instituted in Africa.

Of the four other Somali regions, French Somaliland (with a population of 63,000 Danakil, Somalis and Arabs) seems to be making the most headway in meeting the demands for self-government.

In 1957, national elections based on universal suffrage were held and a Council of Government was formed with Mahmoud Harbi, leader of the majority party, the Union Republicaine, as its vice-president (Premier). Four ministerial posts went to the Somalis, two to the Danakil, one to an Arab and one to a European.

These political gains are not matched in central and local administration, where there are very few Somalis or Danakil holding responsible positions.

In the Protectorate of Somaliland (pop. 600,000) the British Administration began devolving political authority in 1953 with the creation of agencies of local government. Despite considerable progress in this area, both moderates and extremists are taking strong issue with the "snail-pace" development in Somalization and with the limited Somali representation in the Legislative Council, where only five of the fifteen seats are held by Somali members.

The limited progress in the devolution of political authority on a national basis and the transfer of the Haud both contributed to the demonstrations and riots against the Government during 1958; 1959 should see the introduction of electoral and Somalization reforms based on recent recommendations of Government committees.

The 60,000 Somalis of the Northern Province of Kenya and the 350,000 Somalis of the Ogaden Province of Ethiopia are perhaps the most retarded politically. In Kenya the S.Y.L. is banned, and in Ethiopia all political parties are prohibited. No institutions of local government have been developed for the Somalis in either territory.

In British Somaliland, the moderate elements are looking forward first to some form of association between the Protectorate and Somalia. The traditional and political leaders of the National United Front (N.U.F.) and the Somali National League (S.N.L.) once pleaded for a "unification of all Somalis" and "independence within the Commonwealth".

But since 1956 the equivocal statements from the Foreign Office and the lack of a specific timetable for Somalization by the Colonial Office have been partly responsible for the shift within the S.N.L. from a pro-British to a neutral or pro-Egyptian orientation and for the weakening of



the pro-Commonwealth and moderate N.U.F. headed by Ahmed Hassan and Michael Mariano.

In French Somaliland, the position of the nationalists was made clear when they vigorously demonstrated against federation with France. Mahmoud Harbi, although Premier of the Government, campaigned against Federation on the ground that it would be a major obstacle to eventual amalgamation with the other Somali areas. He has recently been deposed by the French Government for taking that stand. It is difficult to see how the new Government, recently appointed by the French, will be able to resist the demands for unification which are bound to be intensified after Somalia receives its independence in 1960.

In Somalia, the differences over Greater Somalia were partly responsible for the recent crisis in the S.Y.L. The moderate wing of the Party, which includes Abdullahi Issa, Prime Minister, and Aden Abdullah, Chairman of the Legislative Assembly, became convinced of the impracticality of immediate unification of all five Somali regions.

Like the pro-West Somalis in the Protectorate, these men are confining their attention to some form of union between Somalia and the Protectorate. Hagi Muhammad Hussein, S.Y.L.'s president, challenged this position by insisting that the unification of all regions be vigorously pushed by the Party. After a tumultuous Party session, Hussein was expelled from the Party and Aden Abdullah was elected president.

In June 1958 a new Party, the Great Somalia League (G.S.L.) was formed by a curious combination of pro-Britishers, pro-Egyptians, extreme nationalists and political malcontents. Hussein assumed the presidency of the new Party, and although he had a poor showing in the October municipal elections, he intends to oppose the S.Y.L. in the March 1959 national elections on the issue of Greater Somalia. He is regarded as pro-Egyptian, having spent four years in Cairo, and his political campaign may have anti-Western overtones.

Any scheme of Greater Somalia must resolve the basic problem of clanism. The independent-minded Esa clan of French Somaliland, the Protectorate, and the Ogaden regard themselves as superior to other Somali groups. The Ishaak, who inhabit the Protectorate and who comprise the bulk of the S.N.L. and N.U.F., distrust the Darod, who make up the majority of the S.Y.L. adherents in the Protectorate. In Somalia, some elements of the Huiwa (who incidentally have the majority of ministerial posts) fear that a Greater Somalia will mean a Darod control of Government, since in the combined Somali regions it is the most numerous group. The Dighil and Mirifle groups, represented in the main opposition party (Hisbia Datur Mustaqbil), have similar misgivings which are reflected in their demand for a federated Somalia in which the regions are accorded almost full autonomy. The political leaders in the three most advanced Somali regions have made considerable progress in overcoming these traditional rivalries, but not to the extent that they can be ignored.

In Cairo, hundreds of Somalis are studying at El Azhar University and in the secondary schools. In Somalia, there are sixty-five Egyptian teachers spread out in the major villages. The Islamic Congress and the Muslim League in Mogadiscio are the two major centres for the pan-Islamic movement.

Undoubtedly Egypt is attempting to control the course of Somali politics and is looking forward to a Somalia run by Hagi Muhammad Hussein. But even he, like so many other Somalis, notes that although there is a need for Muslim spiritual unity, religion has no place in politics.

Above all, Somalis are Somalis first and Muslims second. One of the major international problems confronting Somalia and the question of unification is her relationship with Ethiopia. Many Ethiopians regard not only Greater Somalia but even the existence of Somalia as a threat to the Empire, since 40 per cent of Ethiopia is Muslim. (*Africa Special Report*, December 1958.)

## SUDAN

### The New Government and its Policy

THE new Government of the Sudan consists of El Ferik (General) Ibrahim Pasha Abboud—Prime Minister and Minister for Defence; El Lewa

(General) Ahmed Pasha Abdel Wahab—Minister of Interior and Local Government; El Lewa Mohamed Talaat Pasha Ferid—Minister of Information and Labour; El Miralai (Brigadier) Ahmed Bey Abdalla Hamid—Minister of Agriculture and Irrigation; El Miralai Ahmed Bey Rida—Minister of Works and Mineral Resources; El Miralai Hassan Bey Beshir Nasr—Minister for H.Q. Council of Ministers Affairs and A/Kaid El Am; El Miralai Ahmed Bey Magzoub El Bahari—Minister of Communications; Sayed Ziada Arbab—Minister of Education and Justice; Sayed Abdel Magid Ahmed—Minister of Finance and Commerce; Sayed Santino Deing—Minister of Animal Resources; Sayed Ahmed Kheir—Minister of Foreign Affairs; Doctor Mohamed Ahmed Ali—Minister of Health.

Of the twelve Ministers the first seven listed above are army officers and also members of the Supreme Council for the Armed Forces (consisting of thirteen officers). The other members are respectively a lawyer and former Minister, the former chairman of the Public Service Commission, two former Ministers and a doctor. (*Sudan News Bulletin*, November 30, 1958.)

The President stated that the Sudan would be bound by international law and would accept the obligations stated in the Charters of the United Nations and the Arab League, and that it would also be bound to observe and implement all the treaties and agreements in which the national Governments of the Republic of the Sudan entered since its independence in January 1956.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs said: "Our understanding of peace means keeping away from military alliances that endanger international peace. . . . The Sudan is in a privileged position which implies certain obligations towards both the Arab nations and the African countries. . . . The factors that attract us to the Arab world need not deflect our attention from our ties with the rest of Africa because of our position as the natural link between the Arab States, the Middle East and the African countries which are experiencing a phase of the struggle similar to the one we have already passed through."

The Minister of Education set up a committee to review the object and aims of the present system of education: to make recommendations on changes designed to meet the needs of the country and to produce good citizens; and to make a five-year plan for education which should include spreading education to cover all children through the first stage. The committee which includes a U.N.E.S.C.O. expert, Dr. Matta Akrawy, former Vice-Chancellor of Baghdad University, must report by the end of March 1959.

The Ministerial sub-committee on American Aid reported that for a five-year development plan the Government could raise from its own resources £30 million out of £120 million which were needed. It was the unanimous opinion of the sub-committee that there was nothing in the American Aid Agreement<sup>1</sup> which limits the independence or sovereignty of the Sudan and that it provides the opportunity for performing a number of essential development works which otherwise would have to be postponed in view of the present financial position of the country. Moreover it provides funds for meeting some of our import costs at a time when our foreign reserves have come to low levels. The Agreement was therefore approved. (*Sudan News Bulletin*, December 8, 1958.)

The Council of Ministers also approved measures to reduce by 20 per cent the rents of buildings constructed after January 1, 1947: announced its intention of consolidating the local government system and reconstituting local councils in 1960: appointed a commission to advise on the employment and training of Sudanese in foreign firms and commercial establishments: decided on the removal of the statues of General Gordon and Lord Kitchener in Khartoum. (*Sudan News Bulletin*, December 15, 1958.)

### Comment on the Change of Régime

*Al Shaab*, a Cairo semi-official newspaper, said: "The interests of the people of the United Arab Republic have always been, and will always be, identical with those of the Sudan people. The U.A.R. watches with sympathy and interest the new Sudan Government's desire to solve the problems of that beloved Arab country." (*The Times*, November 20, 1958.)

General Abboud said that political parties and parliamentary democracy

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST VI, 3.



cracy had gone for good in the Sudan. His deputy, General Abdel Wahab, added that it was possible that the time had not been ripe for the introduction of a Western style democracy in the Sudan when the British left. "This was not the fault of the British. We have been subjected to political and economic interference from outside."

Asked to clarify an earlier statement that he hoped for the restoration of democracy later, General Abboud said that "maybe in six months, twelve months or longer, if all goes quietly," it was intended to broaden the basis of the military junta by the creation of an advisory body. Members of this body would be appointed by him for their abilities alone. (*Daily Telegraph*, November 24, 1958.)

The *Times* special correspondent (December 22, 1958) wrote from Khartoum: "The parliamentary system is generally dismissed as being corrupt, unworkable and alien. What concerns people generally is not the fact that soldiers are in power, but whether the soldiers will in fact be able to produce better results. On this score there are naturally doubts, and even humility. For the rest, the régime, though arbitrary, is certainly not tyrannous. Political parties are suppressed, public meetings banned and the Press, through force of circumstances, have to tread warily. But there have been no treason trials, there is freedom of speech in private and public. . . .

"It follows from the Sudanese attitude to democracy that their attitude towards Russia and Communism is not the same as that of the British. The main, if not the sole, feature of Communism which revolts Westerners is the denial of personal liberty. But this aspect of Russian rule does not upset the Sudanese to a comparable degree. Their sentimental ties with Britain are strong. The memory of individual Englishmen who devoted their lives to the country is still green. But the main concern is to get economic aid in order to raise standards of living.

"The Sudan, like most other African territories, is feeling the pinch because its development programme was planned in times of plenty and now has to be implemented while revenues are falling because of the fall in world prices of the crops it produces. The compulsion on the present rulers to achieve success in the economic field is naturally even stronger than it was on their predecessors: they are there because they claim they can do better. If they fail, they may in all likelihood be pushed out by somebody more extreme. Therefore they will accept aid from Russia. . . .

"For Britain, policy towards the new Sudanese Government demands a major decision. The Sudan is the linch-pin in the political and security system of North East Africa. Psychologically, the internal pressures in the Sudan to stir up trouble on the same lines as Nasser are considerable. Hitherto the Sudanese have behaved with responsibility because they believe in the honesty of British intentions and because their own interests would suffer from the collapse of the existing order in the Horn of Africa and the upper reaches of the Nile.

"But economic difficulties are inducing a state of mind bordering on desperation. The Sudanese have in fact received substantial aid from Britain in the form of currency backing and gifts of arms; the International Bank and American I.C.A. are coming into play. But they are apt to forget these benefits when they contemplate the surplus cotton stocks—worth over £10 million—on their hands, and a bumper crop, probably the biggest ever, due this spring. They also want loans to develop the Roseires dam project, which is indispensable if they are to expand the Gezira scheme to a point where the cotton crop is doubled. At the same time, warned by past experience, they are becoming increasingly distrustful of their excessive dependence on a single crop and are furiously examining the possibilities of broadening their economy. In all these fields they are looking to Britain, and, failing her, anyone else who happens along to help."

Protesting about this correspondent's statement of the Sudanese as having "overthrown a democratic system which British administrators have for half a century tried to inculcate", and he must be assumed from the context to refer to political democracy, Sir Harold MacMichael (a former Civil Secretary and Acting Governor-General) said: "I served the Sudan Government from 1905 until 1932 and was quite unconscious of any leaning on our part towards that particular creed (though at a later stage circumstances inevitably induced a change of direction). The régime in that earlier period was one of benevolent and paternal autocracy (witness John Gunther's *Inside Africa*) and the generals who have now taken charge seem to have reverted to it with the prompt and cordial support of those same

religious leaders and the tribal chiefs who equally supported us in the 'golden age'." (*The Times*, December 24, 1958.)

## British Trade Links

The £5 million credit granted by the British Government for buying British exports was warmly welcomed as aid without strings, and a practical indication of British goodwill towards the new régime. The foreign trade figures for the first eleven months of 1958 show a deficit of £16.4 million.

Mr. Meccawi Suliman Akkrat, managing director of the Sudan Gezira Board, and Mr. A. P. Milne, sales director, arrived in England to negotiate the sale of the cotton crop to representatives of the Lancashire textile trade. (*The Times*, January 7 and 8, 1959.)

# SOUTH AFRICA

## Political Scene

THE Prime Minister, Dr. H. Verwoerd, said that the Western world was losing the psychological battle for the mind of Africa because it was "trying to outbid the Communists at their own game of attacking the White man's prestige in Africa.

"They (the West) say almost apologetically that colonialism is something of the past, that they are now ready to grant self-government and that they too are opposed to 'oppressor countries' like the Union of South Africa. The Western world would have been much wiser if it had countered the Communists' generalized and vague attack by a clear and specific exposition of what the White man and the Union of South Africa has done, are doing, and are still prepared to do for Africa, which must lead to self-sufficiency in the course of time.

"Everything the Western Powers and the White Governments did is the cause of Africa moving out of its dark ages and into this age of growing enlightenment. The real danger from Communism is not that the Native peoples of Africa would take over the Communist ideology, but that they would come under the spell of other aspects of Communist propaganda—acceptance of the idea that the colonial Powers or the White people of South Africa harmed them instead of creating civilized conditions.

"Communism has one aim in Africa—to make the Black man resent the presence of the White man. And the Western world, also wanting to make friends with Africa—possibly to be strong enough to avoid the coming clash—is now, no doubt unwillingly, playing the same game. South Africa is the one reliable friend the Western world has. Our friendship must remain even in spite of misunderstandings. . . . If we are left in the lurch for friendship in the present cold war, and the Whites lose out in this country, then even this bastion is lost to the Western world."

Referring to developments in West Africa, he said: "What happened in Ghana can't happen here. There a European Constitution was introduced, but, because the proper uses of such forms of democracy were strange to their ways and minds, the rulers and their peoples fell away from democratic standards.

"The Bantu authorities in South African reserves, which receive progressively more administrative powers as they show themselves capable of exercising this in the interests of their own people, are being developed along the lines of their home-grown democracy, the traditional tribal leadership in council based on the family unit.

"I am quite convinced that our *apartheid* programme is becoming more and more popular among both Whites and Natives. At each election the United Party waters down its attacks to slight modifications of the programme. As far as the Natives are concerned, I know from my long experience as Minister of Native Affairs that their support is much greater than is apparent.

"While the African National Congress and its leaders are very voluble, I am convinced that they reflect only a very small portion of Native opinion. Of the larger portion, their natural leaders recognize the advantages and support the programme of separate development." (*Manchester Guardian*, December 15, 1958.)

The *Economist* (December 20, 1958) wrote: "It is remarkable that Dr. Verwoerd can publicly speak of the Afrikaner nation losing out. This

certainly strengthens the impression that he is asking for love. But of course his plea is really that the West should see everything from his angle: African nationalism is Communism, or the spearhead of Communism; therefore the Union's firm stand against Communism, which happens also to be a firm stand against African nationalism, is profoundly in the West's interest, indeed the only possible policy for keeping Africa in the Western camp. His argument then brightly brought in *apartheid* as the only way to fulfil the legitimate aspirations of Africans for states of their own, and for (gradual) advance to civilized standards. . . .

"Dr. Verwoerd warns the West that Western civilization is at stake in South Africa. So it is, but not in the way he appears to think. The West is primarily concerned to preserve its civilization in the West itself, and the only way Dr. Verwoerd can help in that effort is to put his mind into reverse. But this new sensitivity in Afrikanerdom could still lead to new thinking, and that should be welcomed."

*South Africa* (December 27, 1958) wrote: "The Union Government has decided not to attend the first session in Addis Ababa of the Economic Commission for Africa,<sup>1</sup> created in terms of a resolution of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations. In a statement, the Department of External Affairs . . . observes that in the (Commission's) terms of reference Africa is dealt with as a single and indivisible region, while the Union Government has always held that there is a clear division between the interests of the countries of the African continent south of the Sahara and those to the north and that there are also ethnological and cultural differences between the two regions which cannot be ignored. 'Moreover,' says the statement, 'since the earliest times the African Mediterranean countries have been more closely associated with Europe than those falling within the region south of the Sahara. It is in the latter region that the Union Government is making a considerable contribution to the cause of inter-African co-operation through existing regional bodies of which it is a member.'

"The Union Government feels that the Commission's terms of reference may well make overlapping with the functions of these bodies, which are doing valuable work, inevitable and it would wish to study the matter further. . . . Should the scope of the Commission's activities become clearer, the Union Government might be able to reconsider its decision."

The *Sunday Express* (Johannesburg, December 28, 1958) described the Government's decision as "deplorable" and as "a sign of withdrawal into isolation from the stir and pressure of economic activity now afoot everywhere in Africa".

*Pretoria News* (December 16, 1958) wrote: ". . . Our refusal to participate has served to highlight and increase our isolation. If we wish to demonstrate our existence and our importance on the African Continent then we must play a part in international meetings concerned with Africa which is indicative of that existence and commensurate with that importance."

"This is no time to quibble about methods. For the propaganda value alone a trip to Addis Ababa would have been worth while and the participation which might have followed in the economic uplift of our continent could have been of even greater and ever-increasing value."

Describing the Government's reasons for not participating as "inadequate", the *Rand Daily Mail* (January 5, 1959) wrote: "In the Africa that is stirring the Union is today losing the opportunities it has had of influencing events. Certainly there is now no question of asserting political leadership in existing circumstances. More is the pity therefore that this chance of exercising the economic leadership the country could provide as the most highly developed part of the continent has been missed."

The *Sunday Express* (Johannesburg, November 9, 1958) said that Dr. Verwoerd had "threatened a major reversion of the Nationalist Party's approach to a republic". It quoted him as saying: "The United Party, in its propaganda, often tries to interpret the concept of the 'broad basis of the will of the people' as a two-thirds majority of the European voters, because it hopes that a republic will never materialize. All leaders have up till now not paid any attention to this sort of propaganda."

"The view I now want to emphasize is that the size of the majority . . .

<sup>1</sup>See p. 162.

goes hand in hand with how honestly the republican struggle is carried out. If false propaganda causes people who would otherwise be in favour of this form of government to vote against it, then it is self-evident that the Nationalist Government will take into account what majority would be sufficient to indicate the true will of the people. . . .

"The Nationalist Government would realize that there is great latent support for a republic that would become apparent when experience proves that a republic would be just and democratic. . . ."

*South Africa* (January 3, 1959) wrote: "Anti-Nationalist South Africans will hardly feel optimistic about the talks to be held in Cape Town on the future of the Coloured municipal vote. The principal parties will be the Minister and Deputy Minister of the Interior and the Cape Administrator with two other members of the Cape Executive Committee—all high priests of Nationalism. The preconceived purpose of the talks will be to deprive Coloured ratepayers in the Cape of the municipal vote as a sequel to the deprivation inflicted on those Coloured men who were qualified for a parliamentary vote on the common roll. That is a corollary which Nationalist M.P.C.s thought of at an early stage of the constitutional struggle which raged between 1950 and 1955. One of the Party's early actions after gaining a majority in the Cape Provincial Council in 1954 for the first time was to carry a resolution there asking that the municipal roll should be modelled on the parliamentary one. When the Administrator, Dr. Otto du Plessis, announced his intention of taking up this request he evoked a chorus of protest, from White as well as Coloured citizens, which might well have made him think again. In any event he has made a second announcement, giving particulars about the coming talks which are intended 'to review the whole position in the light of progress made with the establishment of group areas'. That is unlikely to diminish misgivings."

## African National Congress

*Drum* (December 1958) described the Transvaal meeting of Congress at which the final split between the "Africanists" and the more moderate leaders of Congress took place.

A fiery debate followed Chief Luthuli's presidential address. "Africanists" called for an end of all co-operation with Whites at the present stage. Robert Sobhukwe, Witwatersrand University lecturer and chief Africanist theoretician, said: "We shall think of co-operation with other races when we have come into our own."

On the second day "Africanists" were barred from the conference. Mr. Rosette Ndziba attempted to read a letter from the "Africanist" group announcing their secession from Congress, but was prevented from entering the hall.

*Contact* (November 15, 1958) reported that the "Africanists'" letter voiced the group's mistrust of the Freedom Charter of 1955, which, they said, was in irreconcilable conflict with the 1949 nation-building programme. It continued: "Ours is a political battle, aimed against White domination. We are not a para-military clique engaged in the murder of fellow Africans. We therefore wish to notify this conference that:

"(1) We are not a party to any decisions taken at this conference.

"(2) We have come to the parting of the ways.

"(3) We dissociate ourselves from the A.N.C. in the Transvaal as it is at present constituted."

*Golden City Post* (December 7, 1958) invited P. K. Leballo, chairman, and S. T. Ngendane, secretary, of the Africanist Movement (Transvaal) to state their policy. They wrote: ". . . in 1912 the A.N.C. was born, not so much as a counter to the White Union of 1910, but in response to the desire of the African tribes to be united—their will to be a nation. And a new people was born—the African nation."

"Then in 1943 the Youth League of Congress was born. . . . Thanks chiefly to the labours of Lembede and those in his immediate circle, the Y.L.C. pinpointed a basic assumption in our position here, namely that the vast illiterate or semi-literate masses of the Africans were the cornerstone, the key and the very life of the struggle for a democratic South Africa. . . .

"We recognize no class distinctions among the Africans, for they do not exist. They are all non-citizens because they do not have the franchise. The Europeans . . . all benefit, materially, from the socio-economic set-up in

the country; their high standard of living, second only to that of the U.S.A., is made possible only by the ruthless economic exploitation of the Africans.

"It is therefore illogical to expect the European to co-operate in the complete destruction of this abnormal social arrangement. On the material level, therefore, there is no basis for co-operation between Black and White.

"We concede that on the intellectual level a number of Europeans may find themselves in sympathy with our struggle because they believe it is just, but because of their material position they are unable to co-operate with us on our own terms."

Chief A. J. Luthuli addressing over 200 delegates gathered for the national conference of the A.N.C. in Durban said: "The A.N.C. stands or falls by a free democracy. It is as opposed to a racial majority masquerading as democratic as it is opposed to a minority of any kind, racial or otherwise, dominating others because it seized the full control of the State." No one had the right, not even Parliament, to deny anyone or any group of people human rights on the grounds of seeking to preserve his group's identity.

Condemning *apartheid* as a policy guilty of political immorality, born of fear, selfishness and greed, he charged White South Africa with failure to live by democratic standards and demanded that they pass these values to posterity unimpaired and enriched by the diversity of cultural assets found in multi-racial South Africa.

Referring to the reaction of South Africa's rulers to world criticism, he said the progressive forces in the country should not be deterred from encouraging this outside non-violent pressure because of the fear of being attacked as disloyal to South Africa. "The alternative attitude is disloyalty to the truth and it is terrible to be disloyal to the truth, as this makes one receive the condemnation of the world and the disdain of posterity."

Speaking of the Congress alliance, Chief Luthuli called upon Africans inside and outside Congress as true democrats and realists to support the Congress stand and build a vital force to outmatch the *apartheid* front.

Welcoming the Accra conference, he said whether anyone liked it or not the voice of Africa claiming a place of honour for her children would be heard with growing insistence and force in the coming days. So long as White South Africa denied democratic freedom Congress would continue to advise and continue to lead the voteless Non-Whites to use extra-Parliamentary non-violent methods of struggle.

Earlier, reports had been received of the cancellation by the Local Transportation Board, Port Elizabeth, of permits to enable delegates to travel to the conference in lorries. Referring to this and other Government interference, Chief Luthuli said they were below the dignity of a Government that sought to earn the respect of the people.

This forty-sixth annual national conference was faced with numerous issues affecting the African people and these were reflected in some of the resolutions passed. These included one for the appointment of a Planning Council to study and report on measures to prosecute the struggle against passes for women and men. In furtherance of these recommendations conference called for a mass national conference before May 1, 1959, to discuss the report of the Planning Council, this conference to be preceded by regional conferences. Conference also passed a strong resolution affirming the Freedom Charter and the Congress alliance and called upon the national executive to continue to broaden the front against *apartheid*.

An important resolution called for a stepping up of the economic boycott campaign throughout the country and recommended that the enlistment of support from all African countries be sought. Other resolutions referred to the Accra conference and called for an end to the war against the Algerian people by the French and also demanded the release of Jomo Kenyatta and political detainees in Kenya as a step towards peace.

Chief Luthuli was unanimously returned as president-general, Mr. O. R. Tambo was elected deputy president-general, Adv. P. P. D. Nokwe, secretary-general, and Dr. Letele as treasurer-general.

A statement issued by the executive of the New Brighton A.N.C. Youth League said that African Nationalism did not seek to oppress other racial groups, but rather to express the national aspirations of the indigenous people of the continent and to cultivate a common outlook of

unity and peaceful co-operation among all ethnic groups living together, under equal rights and laws. (*New Age*, November 20, 1958.)

A special meeting of the Springs Town Council decided unanimously to forbid the Youth League from holding a public meeting in Payneville Location. The refusal followed a letter from the police saying that trouble could be expected if the meeting were held. The request from the League said the meeting would discuss pass and permit raids, juvenile delinquency and the rent increases in Payneville. Mrs. F. Wright, who had served on the Council for twenty-five years, said that she could not remember trouble with the Africans of either Payneville or Kwa Thema. She viewed the prohibition of the meeting with some trepidation. Freedom of speech was of great value to the people, European and Non-European alike, otherwise repressed feelings were liable to overflow. Mr. A. S. Murray asked whether it was not a fact that the police automatically forecast trouble whenever a meeting of Africans was suggested. But the Council decided to express its regret to the Youth League and defer to the wishes of the police. (*Star*, November 28, 1958.)

### "Apartheid" Condemned

The Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Rev. Joost de Blank, in his charge to the synod of the diocese of Cape Town, said that if *apartheid* meant cruelty and callousness then even the slightest smell of compulsory *apartheid* must be removed from the churches. The Archbishop said he had first felt obliged to speak out after a visit to Windermere location on the Cape Flats. "I saw there not only the ghastly squalor in which many of Christ's little ones were forced to live but, even worse, that the last remaining joy left to them—that of a family unit linked by love and service—was being taken from them by a ruthless application of the Native Laws Amendment Act as man and wife and parent and children were pitilessly separated.

"I need not remind you that it is a Christian duty to resist inhumanity wherever it may be found. This is not a matter of party politics but of fundamental Christian obedience. In the face of such inhumanity nobody who names the name of Christ dare keep silence, and I raised my voice in protest. From such a protest there was no escape—but in consequence I was vilified and abused on all sides."

Dr. de Blank said there were even Anglicans who said he had gone too far and had spoken from inexperience. "In all this controversy in which the Church has been and is still involved one thing has surprised me, and that is the vociferous minority who believe that a concern for humanity and social justice is politics and not Christianity.

"I rule out of all account those who criticize the Church's spokesmen on the grounds that their words weaken this political party's position or strengthen that other. Anyone who has such a temporal and irreligious view of the Church's function and responsibility has not begun to understand the element of eternity in our faith and sails uncomfortably close to blasphemy." (*Star*, December 3, 1958.)

A motion criticizing the racial policy of the Government was unanimously adopted by the synod. It was moved by the Dean of Cape Town, the Very Rev. E. L. King, and read: "This synod, in reaffirming the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man in a common redemption, views with concern and dismay the developing racial policy of the Government and joins with the Dutch Reformed ecumenical synod, which met recently at Potchefstroom, in asserting that no race may deem itself entitled to a privileged position and consider itself superior to other races, and that all believers are brethren in Jesus Christ." (*Pretoria News*, December 5, 1958.)

The *New York Times* (December 7, 1958) wrote: "The . . . synod decided to support the governing bodies of church schools in whatever steps they are able to take to eliminate race discrimination.

"The decision came shortly after Mr. Eric H. Louw, South African Minister of External Affairs, challenged the synod and the Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Rev. Joost de Blank, to open Anglican church schools to all races."

The *Rand Daily Mail* (December 17, 1958) wrote: "For the first time in the history of St. George's Cathedral an African priest acted as deacon in a Solemn Eucharist celebrated in Cape Town to mark the Day of the Covenant. This was only one of the outstanding features of a service whose theme of racial harmony attracted more than 1,000 people of all races. . .



"A Coloured priest, the Rev. G. A. Swart, of Saldanha Bay, became the second Non-White to mount the pulpit in the cathedral and deliver the sermon."

Professor P. V. Pistorius, of Pretoria University, said that *apartheid* had gone even further than Nazism did in eclipsing the individual's freedom and unless this trend was reversed there was no hope for survival for anyone, privileged or underprivileged. He said: "In *apartheid* South Africa has given the world a new ideology. Like Communism and Nazism, it deprives the individual of his basic rights, whether intellectual, economic or political. It goes even further than Nazism or Communism since it affects social rights also—the right of movement and of association. It is Nazism applied in a multi-racial society where the nation is limited to a group and other groups are graded in a descending scale. These group evaluations have been legalized and constitute the pattern for education, political life, industry and economy, residence and social life. Individual worth is of no account. Individual rights depend on the group to which the individual belongs."

"This is done in the name of Nationalism and, on its appeal to religion and in its insistence that its aim is to preserve Christian values and a Christian way of life, it has found its strongest propaganda machine. It is ironical that the ideology of *apartheid*, which is a complete denial of Christian ethics and a complete reversal of the social trends of history that have found their origins in Christianity, should have succeeded in adapting that same Christianity to its own unchristian ends. This is not a pattern created or maintained by the Nationalist Party alone. It is the pattern accepted by the vast majority of Whites in South Africa." (*South Africa*, December 20, 1958.)

### Treason Trial<sup>1</sup>

All the ninety-one accused who appeared before a special court in Pretoria on a charge of high treason last year will again be charged with treason, but will appear in two groups at separate trials, according to two notices in the Government Gazette.

The trial of the first group, of thirty, commences on January 19, and the second, of sixty-one, on April 20. Mr. Justice Rumpff, Mr. Justice Kennedy and Mr. Justice Bekker will again preside at the two special courts to be held in Paul Kruger Street where the first trial was held. (*Pretoria News*, November 14, 1958.)

A new indictment against the first group charges the accused with acting in conspiracy to endanger and overthrow the State with violence and to substitute it with a Communist or some other form of state. It says that the accused pursued these objects individually and through the aid of twenty-one organizations including the African National Congress, Indian and Coloured People's Congresses, and the Congress of Democrats.

The alternative charges under the Suppression of Communism Act 1950, which were either quashed by the court or dropped by the Crown in the course of the earlier hearing, have not been revived. There remains only the capital charge of high treason.

The new indictment has ninety-seven pages compared with the previous 406 and the reduction in size has been matched by a steep reduction in the number of allegedly overt acts of treason. The mere possession of any of the 10,000 documents which were produced during the thirteen months of the preparatory examination is no longer alleged to be a treasonable act. But this does not mean that many, if not all, of the documents cannot be adduced in evidence by the Crown in order to prove the alleged conspiracy.

The *Manchester Guardian* (November 24, 1958) wrote: "The second group of sixty-one accused, which includes the more important African leaders and all but two of the White accused, who have not yet been re-indicted . . . are cited in the indictment against the thirty as co-conspirators. The original indictment had contained 152 co-conspirators. Sixty-eight of these are also co-conspirators in the reframed indictment."

"This means that eighty-four South Africans are relieved of the implied charges which they had no right to rebut or refuse, a state of affairs that has always been roundly condemned by the courts."

The *Sunday Times* (Johannesburg, January 4, 1959) wrote: "The Crown wants to amend the new indictment against thirty accused, and has given notice that it will apply to court for leave to do this. The defence wants

further particulars about the indictment and has served the Crown with a request for these. It is understood that the Crown has not yet replied.

"These preliminaries could mean that, when the trial opens . . . there will be considerable legal argument before the trial proper begins. . . ."

*Pretoria News* (December 3, 1958) reported that Mr. J. Slovo, who was convicted of contempt of court at the preparatory examination in Johannesburg in September, 1957,<sup>1</sup> was successful on appeal.

Mr. Justice Kuper found that he had not been shown to have been in wilful contempt of court as required by the terms of the Magistrates' Court Act. His conviction and sentence of a fine of £20 (or six weeks) were set aside. Mr. Justice Cillie concurred.

Mr. Alfred Hutchinson, one of the accused in the treason trial, who was bound over for illegally entering Tanganyika from South Africa, has left by air for Ghana.

Mr. Hutchinson said he hoped to address the All-Africa People's Conference in Accra and afterwards to settle in Ghana, earning a living by teaching and writing. (*Pretoria News*, December 10, 1958.)

Another of the accused, Mr. Duma Nokwe,<sup>2</sup> was admitted to Baragwanath Hospital after being assaulted by two White policemen. An X-ray examination revealed that he had a fractured rib which had punctured a lung. He was reported to be "very ill".

Mr. Nokwe, who is the only African advocate in the Transvaal and secretary-general of the African National Congress, told his legal adviser that he was driving from Alexandria Township to his home in Orlando when his car stalled. A police van drove up and its occupants told him that his car looked like a stolen car. Then they began to hit and kick him, he said. He ran into a yard, but was brought back to his car. Then the policemen spoke to headquarters on the radio telephone. When they found that the car had not been reported as stolen, they put him back into his car, drove him into a side-street, and left him, he said.

It is understood that a police prosecution will be instituted against the constables who are alleged to have assaulted Mr. Nokwe. (*Rand Daily Mail*, November 11; *New Age*, November 27, 1958.)

Mr. De Wet Nel, Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, has listed thirteen White citizens whom he intends prohibiting from "holding, organizing or arranging any meeting, assembly, gathering (including social gatherings) in Johannesburg. Three of them—Mr. J. Slove, Mr. L. G. Bernstein and Dr. R. E. Press—are accused in the treason trial.

This ban followed a statement from Mr. De Wet Nel that he would ban all gatherings in Johannesburg at which Natives are present. The ban, he said, was aimed exclusively at "mixed drinking parties". He added: "For a considerable time a fairly large number of Europeans in Johannesburg have held mixed parties—characterized by excesses—in their homes in contravention of well-known South African custom. Lately, liquor has flowed freely at such parties, and the results can be left to the imagination. Afrikaans-speaking and English-speaking South Africans, and the Bantu, find such gatherings offensive. To put a stop to this kind of gathering in the urban area of Johannesburg I approached the Johannesburg City Council in the manner prescribed by law. . . . Up to now I have received no reply to my letter, but certain newspapers have already been informed, as happens regularly in such cases. . . ."

"Must I now accept that the City Council of Johannesburg is well satisfied with the mixed drinking parties occurring in the city? Must I accept that it was completely unaware of what regularly happens on the thirteen premises indicated? Must I accept that it does not know how to get in touch with my department, or that it even refuses to do so?"

"This is the Council which regularly complains that the Government trespasses on municipal terrain. A Government which does not—in such circumstances—protect the national interest would be neglecting its duty."

"In conclusion, I must state that the discourteous behaviour of the Council has deeply disappointed me." (*Rand Daily Mail*, January 5, 1959.)

The *Sunday Express* (Johannesburg, December 14, 1958) reported that the action brought Mrs. Ruth Slove<sup>3</sup> against *Die Vaderland* for intrusion on her privacy by two of the paper's photographers during a party held at her home on the night of October 13 was settled out of court. *Die Vaderland* paid Mrs. Slove a sum of £200 and published an apology to her.

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST IV, 4-5; V, 1-VI, 3.

<sup>2</sup>DIGEST V, 2.

<sup>3</sup>DIGEST VI, 1.

<sup>4</sup>DIGEST VI, 3.



## Justice

In the Chief Luthuli case,<sup>1</sup> in which six men were charged with public violence, following a fight at a meeting of the Pretoria Political Study Group, Mr. F. C. A. Wessel, Chief Magistrate of Pretoria, found two men guilty of public violence. The other four men who were charged with them were found not guilty and discharged. In passing sentence, the magistrate said that the offence was a serious one and could have more serious consequences. A question of race relations was involved. Such behaviour as the convicted men were guilty of could strain racial feelings in a country where it is essential that they remain stable. One accused was sentenced to a fine of £100 (or four months) and to three months' imprisonment. The second was fined £100 (or four months). Notice of appeal was given. (*Star*, December 1, 1958.)

The *Transvaal* (December 2, 1958) reported that a fund for the dependents of the accused in the Luthuli case, "The White Protection Fund", had been started under the chairmanship of Mr. I. M. Prinsloo, of Pretoria. Great interest was being shown, especially on the platteland, and £246 had been collected.

Peter William de Swardt, stationed at Jeppe, assaulted an African, Johannes Radebe, on July 24, by hitting and kicking him. He was fined £15 (or a month).

Pleading in mitigation, counsel said that de Swardt was a young and hot-blooded policeman engaged in dangerous duties in the Flying Squad and that his life was often in danger. "There is no reason for the assault except that he was overzealous and his reaction was spontaneous to a man who was arrogant."

The magistrate said the sentence must be one which would also act as a deterrent to others placed in a similar position. An appeal was noted. (*Star*, December 4, 1958.)

Gerhardus Johannes de Bruyn, a miner, was sentenced to six strokes and two months' imprisonment without the option of a fine for assaulting an African.

The prosecutor asked the magistrate to make an example of de Bruyn. He said: "The man he kicked and assaulted will remain in hospital for several months. I consider this a brutal and savage assault."

The magistrate said: "Certain sections of the community think they can assault Natives merely because they are Natives." (*Rand Daily Mail*, November 27, 1958.)

The *Rand Daily Mail* (December 30, 1958) reported that the Rt. Hon. N. J. de Wet, a former Minister of Justice, ex-Chief Justice of South Africa and one-time Officer Administering the Union, had appeared in the Pretoria Magistrate's Court to defend an 18-year-old African girl.

It was the first time in many years that the 85-year-old Mr. Justice de Wet had appeared behind counsel's table in a court, and in his defence argument he attacked a clause of the Masters and Servants Act of 1880, under which the girl was charged.

It was alleged that she had left the service of her employer without giving notice. She was convicted by Mr. H. van Rooyen and fined £1, or fourteen days' imprisonment, conditionally suspended for twelve months.

Mr. de Wet said that the part of the Act which made it a criminal offence for a servant to break his service contract with his employer was "antiquated". He had decided to defend the girl because he believed that an offence of this trivial nature did not warrant her arrest and her removal to the police cells. She had been lodged in the cells without being told that she could obtain bail or legal representation.

"As far as I know, this is the only law in any civilized country in which a breach of contract is made a criminal offence," he said. "As such one would expect it to be carried out with discretion. It is quite out of place for a warrant of arrest to be issued in an offence of this nature."

Mr. P. O'Ryan, chairman of the Domestic Servants' Union, said the union intended to ask the Minister of Justice to amend the Act. He said there were at least fourteen criminal offences in it under which a servant could be charged but only one—non-payment of wages—under which an employer could be charged. (*South Africa*, January 10, 1959.)

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST VI, 2 and 3.

*Golden City Post* (November 30, 1958) reported that five students of Stellenbosch University had been fined £50 each (or two months) for assaulting a Coloured servant. They were given until March 2, 1959, to pay the fines. This was the fifth such assault by students during the year.

*The Times* (January 7, 1959) wrote: "The people of Pretoria have been shocked by the arbitrary action of policemen in a patrol van when they attempted to detain the young daughter of a Methodist minister in full view of passers-by in the main street. . . .

"One policeman took her by the arm and drew her towards the van, protesting and asking what she had done. The policeman is said to have replied, 'You know quite well.' Two girls with her became distressed and the police paused when one demanded to speak to her father at the American Embassy. It was when she telephoned to him that the police realized their mistake, and then drove off.

"Complaints have been made to police headquarters by the Methodist minister and an official inquiry has been begun. It is believed that the American Embassy is taking steps to express its concern to the police authorities at the incident. The acting Commissioner of Police [said] that he was very distressed about it."

"Sjambok Farms"<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Justice Heimstra dismissed an appeal by Robert Jones, farm foreman, against conviction and sentence of two and a half years' imprisonment and five strokes of the cane for assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm.

The complainants, thirty-two African labourers, alleged they had been lined up, called out one by one, and held on the ground, where they were beaten. Systematic assaults had undoubtedly occurred, and Jones had had it in his power to stop them.

"He did not shrink from ordering these severely injured Africans back to work," the judge said. "That fact shows me he was devoid of mercy."

Another judge confirmed a sentence of four and a half years' imprisonment and seven strokes of the cane imposed on Charles Botha, another foreman, for his part in the incidents. (*The Times*, January 7, 1959.)

## New Judge Appointed

Mr. Justice William Ramsbottom has been appointed a Judge of Appeal.

The *Sunday Times* (Johannesburg, January 4, 1959) wrote: ". . . Mr. Justice Ramsbottom . . . is one of our most illustrious judges, having served with distinction on the Transvaal bench for more than twenty years. During this time he has gained a massive reputation for his soundness as a lawyer, his devotion to duty, and the painstaking care he gives to every case over which he presides. His colleagues on the Bench and at the Bar hold him in the highest esteem, and regard him as one of our greatest jurists.

"In view of Mr. Justice Ramsbottom's eminence, and the reputation he enjoys throughout the country, it may be asked why he has had to wait so long for an elevation that should have come his way years ago. It seems to us that the question is of such importance that it is worth discussing openly and frankly; and we would be failing in our duty if we did not draw attention to the responsibility of the Minister of Justice in this matter. . . .

"His failure to elevate Mr. Justice Ramsbottom until now provides a striking example of his inability to uphold the trust reposed in him by virtue of his office. We cannot say what reasons have impelled the Minister to deprive a leading judge, for so many years, of the promotion he richly deserves. But, whatever those reasons are, they obviously have nothing to do with the merits of the case. Personal or political considerations have been allowed to divert the Minister from the path of his proper duty.

"Let us hope that the belated recognition accorded to Mr. Justice Ramsbottom is a sign that the Minister . . . proposes to mend his ways; and that in future such factors as eminence and experience will be his chief guide."

## Pass Laws<sup>2</sup>

*The Times* (January 9, 1959) reported that eighty-nine African women—among the last of 2,000 who organized protests against the issue of

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST VI, 3.

<sup>2</sup>DIGEST V, 1-VI, 3.

identification books—appeared in the magistrate's court in Johannesburg, charged with disturbing the peace. Seven were fined £5 or thirty days' jail, and the rest were acquitted. The last group of twenty-two women will appear in court on January 22.

Members of the Black Sash in Johannesburg held a six-hour vigil on the City Hall steps in protest against the issue of reference books. They displayed banners which stated: "For African women and their families reference books will mean insecurity, misery, fear and suffering" and "Reference books for women are not yet compulsory".

The vigil replaced a public meeting which the Black Sash had planned for the lunch hour and for which the City Council had refused permission. Later, the Black Sash asked the Council for permission "to hold a public protest meeting against not being allowed to hold protest meetings". (*Star*, November 25; *Rand Daily Mail*, November 28, 1958.)

The *Star* (November 27, 1958) reported that the campaign against reference books went a stage further when thousands of signed protests were handed in to the Johannesburg City Hall for transmission to the Mayor, Mr. I. Maltz.

Two or three women at a time stood on the steps outside the main door of the City Hall as receptionists for the protests. On the lower steps stood another twelve women, bearing posters, one of which read "Passes mean prison". European and Non-European women took turns, both as receptionists and as poster bearers. A steady stream of Non-European women, interspersed here and there with a White woman, filed past them and handed in the signed protests. The Deputy Commissioner of Police, Witwatersrand, said that he was "very satisfied" with the way the women had behaved.

A petition signed by the Bishop of Johannesburg, the Rt. Rev. R. Ambrose Reeves, and other leading citizens, requested the City Council to make representations to the Minister of Bantu Administration to "suspend forthwith" the issue of reference books to African women. (*Pretoria News*, November 27, 1958.)

A statement issued by the United Party said: "The United Party deplores the present state of confusion and uncertainty that exists with regard to the extension of the pass laws to Native women. Nobody seems to know exactly what restrictions are being imposed or when it will become obligatory for Native women to obtain reference books.

"There appear to be at least four measures in terms of which Native women can be compelled to carry certain documents. Each of these requires the gazetting of a fixed date, but so far no proclamations have been issued for Johannesburg. Nevertheless, a Government circular informs householders that in terms of Act 67 of 1952 Native female servants must be registered and issued with reference books.

"The present Prime Minister stated in Parliament in 1957 that service contracts would be omitted from women's reference books. Yet the books include a section giving particulars of employment. Responsible spokesmen of the United Party, have stated again and again that we are opposed to extending the rigours of the 'pass' system, either by including further categories of natives or by increasing the number of occasions on which Natives may be summarily arrested. We, as a Party, are shocked by the fact that 500,000 Native males are sent to jail every year for statutory offences under the pass laws. We are strongly in favour of changes which will eliminate the distress, friction, loss and delay which results from this."

Replying to this statement, the Secretary of Bantu Administration and Development, Dr. W. W. M. Eiselen, said that it would, in ordinary circumstances, become compulsory for women to carry books towards the end of 1960. However, to remove any doubt about the firm intentions of the Government, an earlier date would now be considered in respect of certain areas.

People and bodies who interfered with the issue of reference books were doing a disservice to the women whose interests they pretended to have at heart.

The Abolition of Passes Act provided for the issue of reference books to "Natives" and that included men and women. Dr. Eiselen said: "The Minister of Native Affairs made this quite clear. The Native Urban Areas Act as amended provides for the registration of service contracts between Bantu and their employers. The regulations framed under this Act, how-

ever, provided for the registration of service contracts of males only, in spite of the fact that the Act did not exclude women." (*Pretoria News*, December 4 and 5, 1958.)

The African National Congress, the S.A. Institute of Race Relations and the Liberal Party issued statements condemning the Minister's decision.

Mr. Quintin Whyte, director of the Institute, wrote to the Minister: "The fact that the number of women who have taken out reference books is larger than those who have openly voiced their protest is no indication of the acceptance of, or acquiescence in, the system by African women generally." The pass laws applied to African men had not solved the basic problems of juvenile delinquency, more and more crime, and family instability. (*Rand Daily Mail*, December 6 and 13, 1958.)

Salomina Mahorisane, an African woman, was fined £50 or three months, at Vereeniging for addressing or presiding over a meeting in the location without the consent of the superintendent. The meeting was in protest against the issue of reference books to African women.

Mr. B. J. van der Berg, the location superintendent, said that pamphlets describing reference books as "badges of slavery" and urging women to reject them were circulated at the meeting. (*Rand Daily Mail*, December 8, 1958.)

The *Star* wrote: "... Attention has been switched to another aspect of the declared policy of controlling the movements of Native women in the towns on the same lines as those of the men. 'Unattached' women, we are told, are to be subject to specific action under the control regulations, apparently as the result of a directive from the department.

"Native women, it has been laid down, must prove that they have a husband or a tribal guardian in the city, and 'they will have to live with this male relative'. This startling pronouncement can only mean, on the face of it, that every single woman would have to find herself a protector to be allowed in Johannesburg at all, and no Native women could live in their place of work in any circumstances. If it does not mean that what does it mean? ..."

A report on the legal status of African women prepared for the Institute of Race Relations by a committee under the chairmanship of Mr. Julius Lewin, senior lecturer in African law and administration at the University of the Witwatersrand, said that African women were likely to claim more and more equality with African men, in spite of the restraints of various laws affecting them.

On the side of the law, unnecessary hardship and injustice were often suffered by women because of the absurdities and inconsistencies in their present legal position. Spheres in which this applied were:

Inheritance—African women had no such rights.

Votes—they had none—even for Natives' representatives.

Widows' and single women's rights.

Maintenance—there often was none.

Guardianship and custody of African girls.

(*Rand Daily Mail*, December 17, 1958.)

Thirty-three of the forty-two members of the Bafurutsi tribe who appeared before Mr. Justice F. Badenhorst on charges of public violence were found guilty at the conclusion of a trial which began on September 22.<sup>1</sup>

Nine accused—seven men and two women—were found not guilty and discharged. Of those found guilty twenty-two men and five women were each sentenced to four years' jail with compulsory labour. Periods of their sentences, ranging from twenty-one months to two and a half years were suspended for three years.

The case arose out of the anti-pass riots which occurred at Witkileigat, about forty-two miles from Zeerust, on Christmas Day 1957. (*Rand Daily Mail*, December 9, 1958.)

## University "Apartheid"

The *Star* (November 25, 1958) reported that according to a notice in the Government Gazette the Minister of Bantu Education, Mr. W. A. Maree, would ask Parliament next session for permission to introduce a bill to transfer control of Fort Hare University College to the Union Government.

As the bill was a hybrid—one dealing with matters affecting private

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST V, 1-6; VI, 3.

<sup>2</sup>DIGEST IV, 4-VI, 3.

rights as well as public policy—it would have to be referred to a select committee after the second reading.

The Hon. Leslie Blackwell, Q.C., Professor of Law at Fort Hare, wrote (*Rand Daily Mail*, December 9, 1958): "Compulsion is . . . the Government's watchword throughout. Compulsion to the universities not to admit Non-Europeans; compulsion to Non-Europeans not to go to a European university; compulsion to attend only the university college of their own ethnic group; compulsion, possibly, on religious grounds; compulsion probably on political grounds; regimentation throughout.

"Almost the least understandable part of the Government's proposals is its contemplated treatment of Fort Hare. Fort Hare today ranks under the University Act of 1955 with the great universities. It enjoys virtually the same amount of academic freedom as they do; it draws its subsidies on the same basis. It is growing rapidly and looking towards full university status. It caters for Indian, Coloured and Bantu. It has magnificent classrooms and residences. It represents a build-up of nearly half a century. Most of all it represents what ought to be the Government's own ideal of segregation, for it is entirely Non-European. But it has been told that in future it is to rank merely as one of the five new colleges; it will lose its present academic freedom; it will lose its present rate of subsidy; it will be dissociated from Rhodes and it will be allowed to admit as students only Xhosas, who at present number less than one-third of its enrolment. Fort Hare is entitled to say to the Government: 'It is all very well to dissemble your love, but why did you kick me downstairs?'"

The Government has refused to issue passports to four Non-European students who were awarded bursaries to enable them to continue their studies overseas. The students concerned are: Mr. D. C. D. Jacobs, a 21-year-old Coloured student from Bloemfontein who is in his final year at Fort Hare and hoped to take up a scholarship offered by the Students' Union at Khartoum University; Mr. Raymond Kunene, an honours graduate of Natal University; Mr. Jeppe Mei, a graduate of Fort Hare, and Mr. Ashby Mpama, who were awarded bursaries for further studies at Oxford, Cambridge, and London Universities.

Mr. Kunene, who was awarded a three-year bursary by Christian Action to enable him to complete a doctorate thesis in Bantu languages, has decided to leave South Africa permanently. He gave up a lectureship at Roma University College in Basutoland in September in preparation for his departure and has been waiting, without work, ever since. (*Star*, November 28 and December 3, 1958.)

*Golden City Post* (December 21, 1958) reported that the Government had refused to grant Mr. Kunene an exit permit.

The *Sunday Times* (Johannesburg, December 7, 1958) wrote: "The refusal of passports to young Non-Europeans who have been given the opportunity to go to universities overseas is one of the blackest of the many black marks against this Government. This policy is both callous and stupid. This is the inhumanity involved in doctrinaire *apartheid* of which the Archbishop of Cape Town has so rightly complained. It is on a par with taking pennies out of a blind man's hat."

## Other Forms of "Apartheid"

### Labour, Pensions and Wages

The chairman of the Cape Town City Council's Finance Committee, Major A. Z. Berman, M.P.C., said in his annual budget speech that job reservation<sup>1</sup> in Cape Town would lead to the social and economic degradation of more than half the community.

Referring to the "now notorious policy" of the Minister of Labour, Senator J. de Klerk, in ordering the Council to employ no more Coloured traffic policemen, ambulance drivers or firemen, Major Berman said: "The decision has shocked the citizens of Cape Town to an extent unprecedented in the civic history of the city. Speaking with the utmost restraint I must say that this ministerial fiat is a blot on the fair name, not only of the mother city, but of the country as a whole. It means a complete negation of every moral principle.

"I am gravely apprehensive that this is merely a beginning of the extension of the job reservation policy to other spheres of municipal life.

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST V, 3-6; VI, 1.

If this comes about . . . it will cause frustration, resentment and bitterness. I pray that the Council's stand in opposing it will rally sufficient public support to induce the Minister to reverse his decisions."

Of the threatened removal of Coloured voters from the municipal roll, Major Berman said: "I am sure the Council will . . . take vigorous steps to stave off these disastrous proposals." (*Rand Daily Mail*, December 2, 1958.)

The Cape Chamber of Industries told the Industrial Tribunal investigating the labour position in the Western Cape that total job reservation in any Cape industry was physically impossible.

It would not only be morally wrong to restrict employment in times of recession to workers of a particular race, but economically it was wasteful to dismiss qualified operative labour for untrained labour, knowing full well that such labour would not be permanent.

It could not be alleged that the economic welfare of the European was threatened. The chamber could, however, visualize the economic welfare of Europeans being very definitely threatened by any reservation of work which forced Europeans or Non-Europeans back into lower-paid work. (*Rand Daily Mail*, November 22, 1958.)

A special report by the Association of Chambers of Commerce of South Africa said that the Union was obviously nearing the limit of its potential development on existing labour resources with the existing pattern of labour utilization.

The main economic problem facing the country was not how to stop inflation, how to get capital or how to find export markets, but simply how to bring 14 million people into more productive employment. Up to now the industrial development achieved in the Union had been very largely based on the better use of African labour. It was difficult to see how further development could take place on any other basis.

The general shortage of labour had created a strong pressure on employers to use Non-European labour more effectively and a significant change was taking place in employers' attitudes. The old assumption that Native workers were an undifferentiated mass of people without much ability was giving way to realization that the individual workman had individual potentialities which could be used to advantage. The present strong current of support for the raising of unskilled wages was evidence of this changing outlook.

The report also reiterated the association's call for State aid, good publicity and a welcoming approach to prospective immigrants. (*Pretoria News*, December 15, 1958.)

The *Rand Daily Mail* (December 1, 1958) wrote: "The Vanderbijl Park Town Council has decided to inform the Joint Municipal Pension Fund that it is 'most strongly opposed' to the admission of Non-Europeans as members of the fund. The Council will also ask the fund to amend the Local Government Superannuation Ordinance, 1958, to exclude Non-Europeans from membership of the joint fund, and to provide for the establishment of a separate fund for them.

"The Transvaal Municipal Association has been invited to support the Council in any legal action it may decide to take to prevent Non-European employees from being admitted as members of the Transvaal Municipal Pension Fund.

"The Town Clerk, Mr. P. R. Nell, has been authorized to obtain counsel's opinion on the validity of the section of [the] superannuation ordinance which provides for the admission of Non-Europeans as members of the Joint Municipal Pension Fund."

Mr. J. H. Van Dyk, Deputy Director of Bantu Education, told students of the Jan Hofmeyr School of Social Work that sufficient African personnel must be trained "to act as contacts and community guides and at the same time to prepare the way for the taking over of all welfare projects and to develop new ones by means of the Bantu Authorities".

In White areas, aged and homeless Africans had completely severed their tribal connexions, could find no place of refuge, had no livelihood, and enjoyed no family support. . . . In "Bantu" areas, pension schemes had led to "the neglect of proper family care and the shrugging off of that responsibility on to the shoulders of the Government". These people, "according to sound Bantu custom", would have to be reunited with the community. Blind, crippled, deaf, and dumb Africans would have to be



added, and given means to become "self-supporting". (*Rand Daily Mail*, December 11, 1958.)

The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions protested strongly to the South African Prime Minister against alleged "inhuman" treatment of four Madagascan and Mauritian union leaders at Johannesburg airport.

A letter to Dr. Verwoerd from Mr. J. H. Oldenbroek, secretary-general of the I.C.F.T.U., said the four leaders were "subjected to a series of shameful and insulting incidents" from the time they arrived on August 2 until they left on August 5. The letter also protested against racial discrimination in the refusal of a transit visa to Mr. John K. Tettegah, general secretary of the Ghana Trade Union Congress, which made him unable to attend an I.C.F.T.U. conference in Dar-es-Salaam.

"Why does the South African Government insist upon transit visas for Coloured citizens of Commonwealth countries, whereas White citizens do not need them?" Mr. Oldenbroek's letter asked. (*Star*, November 27, 1958.)

The *Star* (December 10, 1958) wrote: "A survey of farming activities carried out by the Bureau of Census and Statistics shows that at the end of June 1956 there were just under 109,000 European-owned farms in the Union. These occupied altogether about 103 million morgen, giving an average per farm of just over 94 morgen. . . .

"The total value of the farms is estimated at about £1,468 million, so that the average value per morgen of European-owned farmland is just over £14 a morgen.

"Altogether 144 Europeans are domestic servants on farms at an average salary of £10 a month. Native domestic servants are 15,000 males (£2 12s. a month average) and 117,000 females (average wage £1 7s.).

"A total of 843,000 persons are employed on farm work and of these 9,000 are European men and 170 European women. The men's earnings average £31 a month and the women's just under £23. [The] corresponding figure for Native males is £2 12s. and for females £1 5s. . . ."

The *Economist* (December 27, 1958) wrote: "Although the Government's concentration on republicanism and race separation monopolizes the headlines, significant trends and developments in the economic sphere are at present taking place in South Africa. The Union is experiencing tighter conditions in the domestic money market than at any time since devaluation in 1949, and its foreign currency reserves stand at under £100 million, which, although an improvement on last year's figure, is still well under the £120 million that is considered necessary for security.

"The Governor of the Reserve Bank, Dr. de Kock, recently drew attention to the fact that the deposits of the National Finance Corporation (of which he is chairman) have dropped from £99 million four years ago to £86 million last year and £78 million this. He pointed out that there had been an appreciable net deficit in the Union's balance of payments since 1954, which was reflected in a decline of £34,700,000 in the gold and exchange holdings of the Reserve Bank between September 1954, and September 1958, and which was accompanied by a decrease of £9 million in the country's total money supply. The Union's trade figures for the first three-quarters of the year make disturbing reading too; the adverse trade balance is at present running at over £142 million. . . .

"Apart from a shortage of capital, which is slowing down development on all fronts, particularly in the private sector [the new Minister of Finance], Dr. Dönges will have to find the money to pay for some of the Nationalist Party's ideological ventures. . . . *Apartheid* and continued industrial expansion are clearly incompatible and [he] will find it hard to square this economic circle. . . ."

#### Group Areas<sup>1</sup>

*Pretoria News* (December 8, 1958) reported that a twenty-five-member inter-racial committee to act as a watchdog over the implementation of the Group Areas Act in Pretoria was elected at a meeting at the St. Alban's Cathedral Hall. The chairman, the Rev. Victor Campbell, of the Good Shepherd Mission, said the issue of the Group Areas Act was clear-cut—if it could be carried out, the principle of divide and rule would temporarily

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST V, 2-5; VI, 1-3.

at least be made to work. "But it will not last, for nothing that is fundamentally evil can in the end stand and survive," he said.

Mr. M. J. Damons, who said he spoke for the Coloured community of Pretoria, said the majority of Coloured people in the city opposed the move to Derdepoort, which was twelve miles from Pretoria and would involve them in "unbearable" transport costs.

Mr. A. Dockrat, speaking in his personal capacity as a Pretoria Indian, said the real purpose of the Act was to strangle the Indian economically. It had been said that the implementation of the Act would require sacrifices all round, but it was clear that 98 per cent of the sacrifices would have to be made by Non-Europeans. In Pretoria, for instance, not one White resident would be uprooted to meet the Act.

Mr. Patrick van Rensburg, Transvaal organizer of the Liberal Party, called for unity among those who would suffer under the Act, urging them to resist the "fragmentation" of the various Non-White communities.

Mr. H. E. Joosub, president of the Pretoria Indian Commercial Association, said in a written message. "Within less than seven months seventy stores in the fourteen areas of the Pretoria district, as well as forty-two stallholders at the municipal market, and also the Indian schools in the Asiatic Bazaar, which provide educational facilities for 2,500 children, will have to move. . . . In less than seven months nearly 1,200 people will be without homes or occupations. This legislation can only bring ruin, degradation of Indian morale and hatred between the various sections."

Dr. P. L. Tsele, of the Lady Selbourne Village Committee, said the problem of the Africans had not received enough attention or publicity. But injustice was injustice, and colour did not count in this matter.

Mrs. G. Findlay reported to the meeting that the Black Sash had already shown its support by sending letters to members of Parliament, the Provincial Council and the City Council and to other people, asking for reconsideration of the implementation of the Act in Pretoria. No answers had been received, but the City Council had discussed the matter.

In a special article in the *Star* (December 2, 1958) Professor P. V. Pistorius wrote: "There is one aspect of the question that seems to have been forgotten, and that is that the Indians were originally introduced into South Africa at the express wish of the Europeans of Natal. Had it not been for the Indians, Natal would at that time have been economically ruined, and so eager were we to have the Indians that we gave a solemn undertaking to a reluctant Indian Government that Indians imported for labour on the sugar plantations would, after their period of indenture, be at liberty to take up residence in the country, where they were to have the rights enjoyed by other inhabitants. Nobody seems to think of that undertaking now. . . .

"We speak of 'repatriation'. But the majority of our Indians have been here for several generations. Let us rather be honest and speak of 'expatriation'. Let us admit that it is our aim to make life so difficult for people who know no other home that they will have no other alternative than to seek refuge somewhere else.

"While that is going on—in the name of Christian civilization of course—let us reassure ourselves, as we often do, that we have been chosen by God to disseminate Christianity in South Africa. Would it be blasphemous to ask who is our God and what is the nature of our brand of Christianity?"

*Pretoria News* (December 12, 1958) reported that the Odendaalsrus Town Council had been told that it would have to provide housing for its Coloured community, estimated at twenty families. This could not be done in the Native location. The houses must be at least 500 yards away from the location, but might be nearer the European residential area. Odendaalsrus, a town with 12,000 European inhabitants, recently had to provide housing for 13,000 Africans at a cost of £220,000. The planning of the Coloured area should be along the same lines as that for Europeans. The Council decided to let the matter stand, as the municipal association would take it to the Minister.

Under the Group Areas Act, Indians at Schweizer Reneke have been barred from attending cinema shows with Europeans in the local Empire Theatre, where they were usually accommodated in separate seats. They had been allowed to attend the Friday and Saturday night shows for the past twenty-seven years and there had never been any friction, bad behaviour or complaints.

In Cape Town and in Durban, under the same Act, Africans have been barred from attending cinemas in the urban areas. This means that Africans in the Cape will have to trek to Langa for their screen entertainment. A free municipal film show is put on there three times a week.

Indian cinema owners in Durban were to make a personal appeal to the Minister of the Interior to allow Africans to be admitted to Indian cinemas until they had cinemas of their own. The owners feared that the decision to ban Africans from urban cinemas might cause unrest between Durban Indians and Africans. One owner said: "Many Africans either do not buy newspapers or cannot read, and so are ignorant of the Group Areas Board decision. When we have to turn them away from our cinemas they will blame the Indian cinema owners—not the Government—and that could cause trouble." (*Star*, December 16, 22 and 24, 1958.)

*The Times* (November 15, 1958) wrote: "The Government's segregation legislation is meeting mounting opposition in Natal, where controversy is coming to a head over *apartheid* on public transport and the eviction of Asians from residential and business areas at Durban and Pietermaritzburg, the commercial and administrative centres of the province.

"Pietermaritzburg, after defying the order to introduce segregation in buses, has now set its face against the eviction of Indian traders from the central area under the Group Areas Act. At Durban opposition is stiffening to the eviction from homes and businesses of 100,000 Asians for whom adequate alternative accommodation is not available."

*Pretoria News* (January 7, 1959) wrote: "More than 2,200 Natives . . . have lost their permission to live in the White areas of Pretoria. The City Council has withdrawn all permits for Natives, other than registered domestic servants, to live on private White properties. . . . This move, which took effect on December 31, is the first major step in the city's big scheme to eject about 6,000 Natives now living in White areas. Further steps affecting Natives in the municipal hostel and compound and others in private business or industrial compounds are expected in the next few months. This means that Native men will no longer be allowed to live with wives working as domestic servants. . . ."

#### Bantu Education

Two hundred and four students, both male and female, who were in the midst of writing their examinations, were summarily expelled from the Amanzimtoti Zulu Training College (formerly Adam's College),<sup>1</sup> as a result of further demonstrations against the school principal, Mr. C. van Heerden. Two hundred and forty-five male students had staged a mass walk-out because of alleged insults by the school authorities.

The Government's Commission of Inquiry, composed entirely of Civil Servants with Chief Cyprian Bekezu as adviser, published its findings early in December.

Reporting on the findings of the Commission, Mr. P. J. Potgieter, senior information officer for the Native Affairs Department, dismissed the complaints of the students by stating that their allegations were only a smoke screen to hide the real causes of the trouble.

Dealing with the final demonstration by the students when they refused to listen to an address by the headmaster of the school, Mr. Potgieter stated that this "defiance was organized by the A.N.C. Youth League".

A final year matriculation student said: "We placed our grievances before the authorities. They were that since the Government took control two years ago: the students are treated with contempt; the standard of education has been poor; the quality and quantity of food supplied to us has been poor; corporal punishment has been instituted; certain teachers are not competent to teach English; we do not want to be taught in Afrikaans, which we do not understand sufficiently.

"Not a single one of these grievances is dealt with by Mr. Potgieter. Instead he draws a red herring across the trail by stating that the A.N.C. Youth League organized these demonstrations. What if they did?" (*New Age*, December 4 and 11, 1958.)

Mr. J. W. McQuarrie, of the University of Natal, told a conference of the S.A. Institute of Race Relations that the introduction of a third language might well prove to be the most calamitous blow struck at Bantu education.

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST IV, 2, and VI, 3.

He said that it was now stipulated that the mother tongue and one official language be taught throughout the school course—and that the other official language must be introduced. The time which was, in the past, devoted to one official language now had to be divided between two, to the detriment of other subjects. It was right that the mother tongue should be the earliest vehicle of instruction, but in a multi-lingual country like South Africa the claim of one main official language for higher education could not be overlooked.

Mr. McQuarrie said that the principles of the Bantu Education Act were being applied in a fashion that was detrimental to the welfare of the African people and to relations between the two White races. (*Rand Daily Mail*, November 10, 1958.)

Brakpan's Bantu School Board refused to provide facilities for sixty-seven Basuto students to write the national examinations for Standards 6, 7, 8 and 10.

Arrangements were finally made in a hall belonging to the Dutch Reformed Church, and the candidates wrote on desks hastily improvised from flooring boards, boxes and other materials. The students had undertaken their studies with two institutions known in the location as the "Study Group" and the "Cultural Club", neither of which was recognized by the Department of Education or by the Department of Native Affairs.

The Bantu School Board said these schools had so undermined schools recognized under the Bantu Education Act that many qualified African teachers had had to be dismissed. In a letter refusing accommodation, the Board said that organizers of these institutions were not bilingual. They were breaking the law by running "schools" in defiance of regulations, and the teachers were not registered.

The students threatened to take legal action against the Department of Education on the ground that the regulations were that any student might enter for examinations, the department having to provide facilities. (*Rand Daily Mail*, November 13, 1958.)

#### Sport

In *World Sports* (October 1958) the editor, Phil Pilley, wrote about the colour problem in South African sport as it affects international competition. He said: ". . . The argument about Black standards being too low for the problem of international representation to arise at the moment strikes me as irrelevant. We are discussing principles, not standards; opportunity for achievement, not achievement itself." He concluded that the most practicable part-solution, at present, would be recognition by the International Olympic Committee and kindred organizations of two South Africas—one White, one Non-White.

In the December issue A. W. Steward, Director of Information, S.A. House, London, wrote: ". . . The policy to deal with these affairs—*apartheid* or parallel development—is there precisely to ensure that there will be maximum opportunity for both groups. I am speaking of opportunity in all things, including education, politics, economic affairs, culture . . . and sport. The policy will succeed or fail according to the degree that these opportunities are provided, and this is something of which all responsible South Africans are fully aware. However, time will be needed, and the most helpful contribution South Africa's friends abroad can make is in showing patience and goodwill.

"Meanwhile, facilities for sport among the Non-Whites in the Union are developing fast, and so are opportunities for encounters with people from abroad. Since 1956, for instance, eighteen Non-White lawn tennis players, two boxers and three soccer players have competed [against], or joined teams, abroad; cricketers have played against East African Non-White teams in the Union and in East Africa; and only a few months ago the first Non-White athletics team to go abroad from South Africa competed at five centres in Northern Rhodesia. A reciprocal tour of South Africa is being arranged for next year."

The Hon. Ivor Montagu, president of the International Table Tennis Federation, wrote: ". . . How can international sports federations recognize as the governing body of a sport in a given territory an organization which represents a tiny minority of the population? To do so is dishonest, and deliberate avoidance of the facts. The excuses sometimes offered for this practice boil down to two sorts: expediency, and a desire to avoid

politics. . . . The federations, it is argued, have to take in the Whites because the local government wants them to and because, if they didn't, the government wouldn't let them take in anyone. According to this thesis, to accept the *apartheid* (European-origin-only) bodies as members is the only way of avoiding politics and enabling contact between the rest of the world and any sort of South African sportsmen.

"These arguments won't wash. First, nothing in any federation's constitution says that if there are two organizations in a territory you must choose the one the local government wants (and so discriminate against the other). Rules and fair play are still supposed to prevail. Secondly, don't the federations realize that by accepting the White organizations and rejecting the Coloureds, they and not the South African Government are taking the responsibility for excluding the Coloureds from international sport? This is not avoiding politics; it is backing the Whites against the Coloureds in an internal political dispute. . . ."

Antony Steel, secretary, The Campaign Against Race Discrimination in Sport, wrote: ". . . In the absence of two teams in each sport representing South Africa, the team most representative of the population should be recognized by the international bodies. In some cases, this team would be African in the main—for example, in soccer and boxing. In other sports, such as tennis, membership figures would probably show that the European organization had the better claim to international recognition. . . . Ideally, however, the international federation should sincerely apply the Olympic declaration forbidding discrimination, and accept for membership only those national associations which are open to all enthusiasts of the sport, irrespective of the colour of their skin. . . ."

Avery Brundage, president, International Olympic Committee: "This subject is having the serious attention of the International Olympic Committee. It is a very complicated and delicate problem which requires serious and intensive study. . . ."

Chris Chataway, former British international athlete: "I consider your plan a fair and balanced one, and it would seem to have a good chance of acceptance. My only reservation is that I believe Father Huddleston . . . may be right in thinking that the average White South African regards sport as a matter of enormous importance. If nations were to refuse to compete against South African teams from which Africans and Coloureds were excluded, this might be a more effective method than any other of protesting against *apartheid*."

In a letter to the *Rand Daily Mail* (December 4, 1958) Gordon Pirie wrote: "The boycott of South African sports teams as suggested by Mr. Chataway is extraordinary. Chataway himself belongs to that section of society in England who themselves practise class distinction. Whilst it is desirable from the sporting angle for South Africa to field the best team regardless of colour, Chataway would have realized that the problem is very much deeper than he thinks had he kept his eyes opened when he visited this country. He could judge the issue and give an opinion only if he had crept into a kraal and lived there for a month or two. Otherwise his opinion on the matter is worth nothing."

The S.A. Bantu Amateur Athletic Association said in a statement that an extraordinary general meeting in Bloemfontein had agreed on terms for affiliation to the European S.A. Athletic Union. The Bantu Association was prepared to stage its own championships separately from those of the Europeans as long as records were accepted and provided teams were chosen to represent South Africa on merit. (*Pretoria News*, January 8, 1959.)

#### Social and Cultural

The *Rand Daily Mail* (November 11, 1958) wrote: "While the Cape Town City Council will soon be able to enforce racial segregation on all the beaches under its control, an apparently new aspect of the problem of beach *apartheid* has arisen elsewhere in the Cape. The secretary of the Knysna Divisional Council has reported that the Council's proposal to reserve separate sections of the shore in its area has suffered a setback because of a demand from the Department of Bantu Affairs that the Council should not only provide separate areas for Africans, but that they should be separated from the Europeans by fifty-yard buffer strips. . . . Officials of the Cape Divisional Council and the Cape Town City Council

said today that no buffer zone instructions had been given about segregation on beaches in the Cape Peninsula. The Council has already posted *apartheid* notices on certain beaches under its control."

A delegate to the Free State Municipal Association Congress complained that Non-Europeans were allowed to fish together with Europeans at Heilbron dam. No provision had been made for this in the ordinance and he proposed that town councils should be empowered to enforce *apartheid* measures.

The Mayor of Bloemfontein, Mr. A. E. E. Viljoen, said that town councils had such power. In Bloemfontein Non-Europeans were prohibited from attending sporting events as spectators at the Free State Stadium. Recently it had been found that Non-Europeans were picnicking on Naval Hill and this was immediately forbidden.

A resolution urging local authorities to promote free library services for Non-White communities was adopted unanimously at a conference attended by European and African librarians at Vereeniging.

Other resolutions recommended that Non-Whites be employed full time, with adequate pay based on technical and educational qualifications, that library buildings be centrally situated, open in the evening and fitted with electric light where possible. That local authorities be urged to support the proposed establishment of a central library service which could promote the extension and development of Non-White libraries. Copies of the resolutions were sent to the S.A. Library Association. (*Rand Daily Mail*, November 13 and 14, 1958.)

#### Ambulance Services

An official announcement said that Cape provincial vehicles were used to carry patients of all races, although the policy was not to carry Europeans and Non-Europeans together. In an emergency, however, this might have to be done. The statement was made after it had been reported that an Indian woman had been left lying beside a national road in the Cape because the nearest Non-European ambulance was in use.

In another *apartheid* incident, at Carletonville (Transvaal), a European ambulance driver refused to carry a critically injured African in his ambulance. (*Sunday Times*, November 30, 1958.)

The *Star* (December 10, 1958) reported an accident at Craighall, near Johannesburg, in which a seven-year-old African boy, Kangweni Singwo, was knocked down by a heavy lorry and seriously injured. The first report to the Craighall police was that the boy had been killed. A *Star* photographer eventually took him to Tara Hospital, where a doctor diagnosed a basal fracture of the skull. He made his diagnosis in the photographer's car and advised the photographer to get Kangweni to the General Hospital as soon as possible. He said there was no ambulance at Tara.

The photographer said later: "I was on my way home when I saw the child lying on the road covered with a blanket. His father was bending over him and trying to comfort him. A European policeman and [an African] policeman were measuring the wheel marks and point of impact with a tape measure. By this time, I was told, the child had been lying in the road for more than thirty minutes. His father and African bystanders had resigned themselves to the thought that the child would die.

"I asked the European policeman what was being done about getting the child to hospital. He said: 'I suppose an ambulance will come along.'

"Two European women stopped their car and made a cursory examination of the child and said the pulse was fairly strong and urged 'somebody to do something'. The policemen went on with their measuring. The women and I went to the policeman and asked his permission to move the child. He gave it and we lifted the boy into my car. His father climbed in with him and I drove off to nearby Tara [Hospital]. The child had been lying on the road for at least forty-five minutes."

Following the unfavourable publicity given to this incident in the British Press, the Acting Director of Information at S.A. House, London, said that the police had arrived on the scene "at about the same time" as the *Star* photographer. He added: "This sort of mistake could have happened anywhere. It had nothing whatever to do with the different races having their own ambulance services. For everything that happens nowadays in South Africa someone will unfortunately produce a race relations context in which to interpret it. This particular incident is made worse because the child was Black. If the child had been White—and it could



have been—would we have heard about it in London? . . ." (*Daily Telegraph*, December 29, 1958.)

*South Africa* (January 17, 1959) commented: "It is ironic that another accident should have happened more recently in which this aspect did come into play. A White motor-cyclist and a Coloured pedal-cyclist were injured at Plettenberg Bay on the Garden Route, and when an ambulance, capable of taking away both men at once, arrived the decision had to be made which 'Colour' should go to hospital first. A doctor, a policeman and the ambulance driver gravely decided that the Coloured man was the more seriously injured and should go first. Before returning for the White man the ambulance driver had to make sure that he had a stretcher other than the one that had been used for the first patient. It is incidents like this that lead the overseas Press to think of *apartheid* in a case like the Johannesburg one."

### Population

The population of South Africa now totals 14,418,000 (9,606,000 Africans; 3,011,000 Whites; 1,360,000 Coloured people; 441,000 Asiatics). During 1958 there were 14,615 immigrants, of whom 4,723 were from Britain. (*South Africa*, January 10, 1959.)

### Banned Books

The latest list (of 179 works) includes *Second Class Taxi* by Sylvester Stein; *Passive Resistance in South Africa* by Professor Leo Kuper, and *Report on the University Situation in South Africa*, issued by the International Student Conference. (*South Africa*, January 10, 1959.)

## SOUTH WEST AFRICA

### Native Labour Policy

SOUTH WEST AFRICA is one of the most arid countries in the world and Nature has restricted its Native population to only approximately 400,000 people. Mr. Manfred Crohn, addressing the Windhoek Rotary Club, said that it was therefore important to employ Non-European workers more efficiently than in most other parts of the African continent, where this type of labourer is almost freely available. "About 68,000 male Natives over the age of 18 years are employed in South West Africa, 34,000 work on the 6,000 farms in the territory and the other half are employed by commerce, industries, mines, Administration departments and households. The percentage of those workers, relative to the Native population is considered high, namely 17 per cent, which proves that our natural labour force is practically completely exhausted.

"First the employer must realize that Native labour is not a commodity. Non-European labour is counted in figures only and very few employers have ever made an attempt to look upon their Natives from a different angle, namely the relationship between employer and employee. Everything is done to look after the welfare and contentment of the White employee. Satisfactory salaries, air-conditioned offices, paid leave, sick funds, pension schemes, Christmas bonuses to the value of at least a monthly salary and many other advantages. What is done with regard to the man who is really the basis of the Black continent with special reference to manual labour, asked Mr. Crohn. Does he take part in any of the above-mentioned facilities? Unless a serious attempt is made by the individual employer, and their respective organization, it may be too late." (*Windhoek Advertiser*, November 21, 1958.)

The Chief Native Commissioner for the Western Cape has announced that all Africans from South West Africa living in the Cape Peninsula will be returned to their own territory. Mr. Parsons said: "A South West African Native requires permission from his own territory to come to the Union and it is therefore irregular for them to be employed here without that permission.

"Employers, such as contractors, from the Union in South West Africa generally complain of a shortage of labour there and want to take Union Natives with them. Instead of importing Union Natives, it is a matter of policy that South West African Natives should be employed in their own

territory. The Chief Native Commissioner for South West Africa, Mr. B. Blignaut, has made a request that they should be returned. For some Africans there may be financial assistance in repatriation costs, but for others it may be more appropriate to give them the opportunity to earn their expenses. The Natives will be sent back as and when the opportunity and circumstances arise. It should be regarded as purely an administrative matter." (*Rand Daily Mail*, December 4, 1958.)

### Membership of Economic Commission Discussed

The *Windhoek Advertiser* (December 9, 1958) said that if South West Africa wished to apply for "Associate Membership" in the Economic Commission for Africa, as it had been suggested by the U.N. Trusteeship Committee that all the dependent African territories, including the United Nations Trust Territories, should, the position would be "rather confusing".

"The United Nations and the Opposition in South West Africa consider the territory as a mandated country and their opinions are upheld by the International Court. The Nationalist Party governments in the Union and South West Africa are, however, of a different opinion.

"In a democratic government, however, the Opposition forms part of the government. If the Opposition in South West Africa applied for such a membership and the Non-Europeans in the country made similar applications, then the South West issue would really become involved."

### Population

According to the latest estimates published by the South African Bureau of Census and Statistics there are 420,000 Africans, 66,000 Whites, 21,000 Coloured people and no Asiatics in South West Africa. (*South Africa*, January 10, 1959.)

### New Good Offices Committee

The Philippines, Ireland and Guatemala have been named by the General Assembly's Trusteeship Committee as the Good Offices Committee to work out a solution of the dispute over South West Africa. These three countries also become members of the Special Committee on South West Africa, to replace Mexico, Pakistan and the United States.

Last year's Committee, which failed to come up with a satisfactory solution, was composed of the United States, Britain and Brazil.

### The Nationalist Viewpoint

Dr. H. F. Verwoerd, Prime Minister of South Africa, opened the Nationalist Party Congress in Windhoek on October 14. He said that during 1957 the U.N. displayed a new and more co-operative attitude with regard to the South West African question.

The Good Offices Committee made an earnest attempt to find a solution that would be acceptable to all concerned. The Nationalist Government, he maintained, had always been against South West being given over to trusteeship. However, they were prepared to submit reports to the surviving members of the old League of Nations; but this was not acceptable to the U.N. mainly because a group of countries had come to the U.N., not to further international co-operation, but to further their own selfish ambitions.

After exploring all the avenues suggested by the Good Offices Committee, only one possible workable solution remained, namely partition. The U.N. did not accept this proposal in the right light, and as a result the South African delegation withdrew.

"Any United Party speaker," he said, "who says that the Government accepted partition is guilty of a falsehood." The actual position was that the Government was ready to examine its possibilities further, provided that it met with U.N. approval.

The Union, he said, regarded the happenings at the U.N. as a slap in the face; especially when Michael Scott and Getzen were allowed to speak to the Committee. The Union was then of the opinion that the majority of the members of the Committee had decided to undermine the efforts of the Good Offices Committee, and that no useful purpose could be served by remaining on the Committee. "On those nations' shoulders," he thundered, "rests the responsibility for the failure of an earnest attempt to find a solution." (*Windhoek Advertiser*, October 17, 1958.)

# HIGH COMMISSION TERRITORIES

## Basutoland

### A New Constitution

LORD HOME, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, made a statement in the House of Lords on December 18, 1958, in which he described the successful outcome of the constitutional talks between the British Government and the delegation from the Basutoland National Council. Lord Home said agreement had been reached on all the essential features with the object of placing more power and greater responsibility in the hands of the Basuto nation.

"In accordance with the proposals in the report, I intend to recommend to Her Majesty, subject to certain legislative and reserve powers remaining with the High Commissioner, that the Constitution should establish a Legislative Council to be called the Basutoland National Council. This Council would be given power to legislate for all persons in Basutoland and would have the right in addition to discuss those matters which remain in the High Commissioner's legislative sphere. Its financial powers would include the right to vote the estimates on Council matters and to discuss those relating to the High Commissioner's matters. . . .

"The Council would consist of eighty members of whom half would be elected by the district councils. There would be an Executive Council, established broadly along the lines of the report, comprising four unofficial members and four official members of whom one would be the Resident Commissioner, who would preside. Local Government would be organized on the lines proposed in the report."

Lord Home said that on the franchise both delegations are satisfied that the best solution was to establish a single roll for Basuto and Non-Basuto British subjects and British protected persons. They had also agreed on the qualifications proposed in the report with regard to age, presence in an electoral area for a specified period and the payment of tax—it being accepted by the United Kingdom Government, respecting the last of these, that a revision of the present tax system will be undertaken with a view to removing any features apparently discriminatory on the score of race. He continued: "Her Majesty's Government also recognize that the agreement on the franchise involves some amendment in the existing law governing the residence of Non-Basuto in Basutoland, and the giving of assurances regarding land, entry and residence. . . .

"I also confirm that persons who are not members of the Basuto nation and who are made eligible for the franchise or are admitted to the franchise will not, as a result, acquire any right, or a claim to any right, respecting land in Basutoland, or any right to reside there. . . .

"It has been agreed that the Chairman of the Legislative Council should be elected by the Council as soon as practicable. It was agreed that, to assist the Paramount Chief in the execution of his duties, he should have the advice of the Resident Commissioner, one person nominated by the Paramount Chief and the Paramount Chief's nominee to the Executive Council. Both delegations fully recognize the important part which the Chieftainship plays in the administration and the general life of Basutoland and here again the proposals of the report were agreed with relatively minor changes."

A White Paper will be published shortly.

In a press statement commenting on the agreement reached, the Basutoland delegation said: "We regard this agreement as a great landmark in Basuto history, and a notable and imaginative step forward. The period of marking time is now at an end. . . .

"We would emphasize that a feature of the new Constitution is that it is entirely free from discrimination on the score of race, colour or creed."

The Basutoland delegation said they accepted the franchise solution the more readily because of the real and generous guarantees concerning land, entry and residence in Basutoland which have now been obtained. Persons who are not members of the Basuto nation and who are made

eligible for the franchise or are admitted to the franchise will not, as a result, acquire any right, or a claim to any right, respecting land in Basutoland, or any right to reside there.

## Swaziland

### Land Problems

LEWIS NKOSI, wrote in the *Golden City Post* (October 12, 1958): "Trouble is brewing in Swaziland over the ownership of land and mineral rights."

"Beneath the surface of apparently placid relationships between the Swazi Paramount Chief, Sobhuza II, and the British Government, as represented by the Resident Commissioner in the territory, there is an undercurrent of hot feelings that may spill out into the open if the land question is not settled. . . .

"The Paramount Chief is reported to have warned the British officials that the 'Swazi people were getting impatient'."

"In this peaceful territory, that is considered tough language indeed, and a warning of trouble that looms over the horizon. Right now, correspondence between the British Government and the Paramount Chief over the land question and mineral rights is being carried on on the highest official levels."

"Good relations between the Chief and the British Government, as well as the 5,919 Whites in the territory, will depend very much on the outcome of these negotiations, I was told. The squabble over land ownership is not a new thing. . . .

"The Swazi's claim to the ownership of land is based on these arguments: that the White settlers acquired land rights, concessions and monopolies 'very often in questionable ways and for inadequate considerations'; that all transactions were negotiated between 'advanced adventurers and the illiterate Swazi kings, who did not realize the implications involved'."

"The Paramount Chief himself, in a protest to the High Commissioner, wrote in 1954:

"The private ownership of land is something unknown among the Swazis, if not throughout the Bantu world . . . so it is a wild dream to say that King Mbandeni sold, alienated or created private ownership in the land of his people."

"In Native policy the grant of usage of land in any form may be given to anybody as long as there is no need for it . . . but should there be any need for it the sovereign has the full right to adjust the position. . . ."

"He further quotes King Mbandeni as saying: 'I have not sold you the ground, you have simply got a lease to it.' His words were part of the minutes preserved in the Government records."

"On these grounds the Chief and his council argued that whatever concessions were made to the settlers, reversionary rights were preserved for the Swazis so that the land could be handed over for their use whenever they needed it."

"Spearheading the movement of Swazi intellectuals, called the Swazi Progressive Association (a body started with the approval of the Paramount Chief at the request of the Resident Commissioner), is a stocky, balding man, President J. J. Nquku, Sobhuza's Minister of Education."

"Mr. Nquku, who has just returned from Britain, Europe and America, told me that the land question had caused bitterness in Swaziland. After a petition in 1956 addressed by the Paramount Chief to the British Government asking for the restoration of sovereign rights over minerals, a commission was appointed."

"The British Government is now considering granting to the Paramount Chief part of the revenue from minerals."

"However, the nation is not satisfied," Mr. Nquku said. And now the Association wants to press for constitutional reforms similar to Basutoland's, which would provide for the creation of a legislative assembly."

"If this happened there would be complete self-government for the 229,744 Africans who are governed by Proclamation, Mr. Nquku says, and they would know how to settle the land problem."

"A document containing resolutions asking for a Commission of

Inquiry into the constitution, economy and development of Swaziland was sent to the British Government through the Swaziland Resident Commissioner in August 1956, but has not reached the hands of the British Government up to now.

"Mr. Brockway of the Labour Party stood up in the House of Commons in June this year and demanded to know what had happened to the document.

"Commander Noble, in answer to the question, said that the Resident Commissioner referred the demands of the Progressive Association to the Paramount Chief-in-Council as 'representing the Swazi nation'.

"The Council stated that it wished to discuss it with the President of the Association, who was so informed and agreed with this course, he said.

"The Resident Commissioner has not yet learned whether the discussion has taken place."

"But Mr. Nkuku denies having agreed to discuss the document. And the Resident Commissioner himself, Mr. R. A. Armstrong, denies having given any information that the Paramount Chief wanted to discuss this document with the Association's president.

"He told me he merely referred the document to the Chief because this was the proper channel."

## WEST AFRICA

### Ghana/Guinea Pact

GHANA and Guinea have signed an agreement to unite to form the basis of a Union of West African States. The decision was taken and the agreement signed during the official visit to Ghana by the Prime Minister of Guinea, M. Sekou Touré, and his party late last month. Details of the form of the union have yet to be worked out.

The agreement, signed in Accra, said that, subject to ratification by the respective National Assemblies, the two Prime Ministers had agreed to constitute the two states as the nucleus of a Union of West African States. In doing this they were inspired by the example of the thirteen American Colonies which, on the attainment of their independence, constituted themselves into a confederacy which ultimately developed into the United States of America.

In a separate joint declaration signed by Dr. Nkrumah and M. Sekou Touré, it was disclosed that Ghana is to lend Guinea £10 million immediately to afford Guinea such technical and administrative assistance as may be necessary to strengthen the new State. (*Ghana Today*, December 10, 1958.)

The news of the Union was widely commented on. Dr. K. A. Busia, Leader of the Ghana Opposition, described the declaration by Dr. Nkrumah and M. Sekou Touré constituting Ghana and Guinea as the nucleus of a Union of West African States as "precipitous".

For Premier Nkrumah it is primarily a prestige policy rather than one which looks to the best interests of the people of Ghana, said Dr. Busia. "It is designed merely to enhance his own personal prestige and further the fulfilment of a long-cherished personal ambition to become the head of a United States of Africa—regardless of the cost or consequences of such an ambition to Ghana."

For Premier Sekou Touré it has added to his successes, said the Opposition Leader. "He is to be congratulated in that by spending a few days in Ghana . . . he has secured a credit of £10 million and a promise of technical and administrative assistance to strengthen his new State."

Dr. Busia then said that Northern Ghana had "failed to get even a penny out of their own Government in fulfilment of the reluctant promise of £3 million a year".

The *Manchester Guardian* described it as one "of those bright ideas which are easier to conceive than to carry out", and pointed out that the distinction between British and French, or ex-French, territories looks much less significant to African than to European eyes. Boundaries over most of Africa are quite arbitrary and bear little relation to the tribal origins or the languages and traditions of the peoples whom they enclose; it is not surprising that African leaders' ideas are not confined by them.

The *Times* said that the announcement had caused as much surprise in

Paris as in London, and disconcerted the French no less than the British, though for rather different reasons.

The *West African Pilot* (Lagos) which supports Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe said in an editorial that the proposed union was "a sure step towards a federation of independent states of Africa".

The French left-wing newspaper *Paris Journal* said that Guinea had entered the zone of British influence. This was shown by the fact that members of the Commonwealth had been forewarned and that the declaration was made in the presence of the British High Commissioner.

A Conservative newspaper, *Le Figaro*, commented that "this operation does not take place without foreign support". It said this "marriage at a distance is approved, if not suggested, by those who have an interest in hindering the success of a free association born from the referendum", in which Guinea voted itself out of the French community.

*Parisien Libere* (right wing) commented on "the failings of the French administration, which has been entirely responsible for the creation of Monsieur Sekou Touré".

The *Johannesburg Sunday Times* discussed the implications of the union for the Commonwealth and said: "In Britain there has naturally been a good deal of concern over the legal complications that arise from the introduction of a stranger into the Commonwealth Club by a very junior member who did not even bother to tell the committee what he was doing. But it seems unlikely that there will be any trouble. It is true that Dr. Nkrumah has broken so many rules that the lawyers are left gasping, but the constitutional structure of the Commonwealth has become so loose and flexible that this new anomaly will hardly cause a ripple outside the rooms of the Commonwealth Relations Office.

"Dr. Nkrumah is fond of the windy phrase and the occasional passage of melodrama. He is also fond of his own prestige. But he is a shrewd and far-sighted politician and it may be that, with his West African Federation scheme, he has history on his side."

Basil Davidson, in an article written for *Tribune*, said: "Yesterday's Africa disappears into the colonial past, and a new Africa begins to take shape. That's the real meaning of the agreement announced recently for a close association between the West African countries of Ghana and Guinea.

"This agreement will be an important milestone in the building of an independent African continent. It makes the nucleus for a future union—or several unions, since African peoples are many and various—and shows that independent Africans mean to find their own solutions to their own problems.

"It gives us all a broad indication of the kind of shape tomorrow's Africa will be—a shape that will be framed not by the tribal or colonial agreements or impositions of the past, but by a dissolving and rearranging of frontiers in line with the common interests of the peoples concerned.

"There are about 70 million people in West Africa, richest and most populous of all the regions of that vast continent; and they are of many tribes and nations. Some of them have a long recorded history. The foundation of a university at Timbuktu was earlier than the foundation of Oxford or Cambridge. . . .

"Independence for the West African people—now so near realization in all but a handful of colonies—is therefore only one chapter in the story of building a decent future. After that there comes the need to see how those peoples can most sensibly and constructively govern themselves, and within what frontiers.

"At this point, the great question for Africans, whether in West Africa or not, is whether conservative trends in African society are going to get the upper hand, and insist on the 'balkanization' of Africa into a multitude of little states, each feeble in itself and jealous of its neighbours; or whether progressive trends are going to get the upper hand, and insist on a modern and federalist approach to common problems.

"The Ghana-Guinea association is therefore a step in the right direction—a step towards African unity." (*Ghana Daily Graphic*, December 3, 1958.)

The Ghana National Assembly endorsed the Union Agreement on December 12. Mr. N. A. Welbeck, at present Minister without Portfolio, has been appointed as Minister of State for Guinea Affairs.



Mr. Diallo Abdulaye, Guinea Minister of Communications and a delegate to the All-African Peoples' Conference in Accra, has been appointed Guinea's Resident Minister for Ghana Affairs.

During his tour of India Dr. Nkrumah is reported as saying that it would be in the interest of Liberia to join the Union of Ghana and Guinea. Whereupon the Liberian Government stated that the Prime Minister of Ghana had neither the ability nor the authority to determine what was in Liberia's best interests, for this would be fostering interference by one nation in the affairs of another. The position of the Liberian Government on such a federation remained unchanged since President Tubman last told the National Legislature that each nation should pursue its policies without interference in its domestic affairs by other states, but that Liberia welcomed unity and African solidarity based on treaties of friendship and other alliances.

It was subsequently stated on Dr. Nkrumah's behalf that the intention of his reply was to indicate that it was the hope of Ghana and Guinea that the Republic of Liberia would join the proposed Union and that the matter was under discussion and that it would be in the interests of all if Liberia could join the Union. (*Ghana Daily Graphic*, December 29, 1958.)

## Ghana

### Detention Without Trial

ACCORDING to a statement from the Prime Minister's office police investigations have disclosed plans to overthrow, by assassination and violence, the lawfully constituted Government of Ghana. The assassination of the Prime Minister, Mr. Krobo Edusei and Mr. Kofi Baako had been planned. Forty-three people were arrested under the Preventive Detention Act, and informed, in accordance with the provisions of the Act, of the grounds on which they are being detained and are being given an opportunity to answer the allegations against them. (*Ghana Daily Graphic*, November 11, 1958.)

These arrests were followed on December 20 by those of Mr. R. R. Amponsah, M.P., general secretary of the United Party, and Mr. M. K. Apaloo, M.P., a member of the executive committee of the Party, who, the Ministry of Defence stated, had tried to bribe some non-commissioned officers of the Ghana Army to assassinate the Prime Minister at Accra Airport on the occasion of his departure for India.

On arrival in Rome on his way to India, Dr. Nkrumah said: "News of the plot came as a complete surprise to me. There has never been anything like this before in Ghana, and I cannot see anything in our internal situation to justify it."

Dr. J. B. Danquah, a spokesman of the United Party, described their arrest and detention as a "cowardly act", adding: "If the Government's accusations against the two men are true, they should first be taken to court." But the authorities, he said, were now afraid of the courts. The whole affair had been cooked up.

When an attempt was made to secure the release of those detained Mr. Justice H. C. Smith reserved judgement indefinitely. The motion seeking their release was filed by an Accra barrister, Mr. Koi Larbi, who argued that the Governor-General, Lord Listowel, or whoever signed the detention order had no power or authority to do so because the grounds of arrest as published constituted a criminal offence. He was not asking that the detainees should be released and acquitted but that they should be released to appear before a court under the Habeas Corpus Act. Mr. Samuel Azzu Crabbe, senior Crown counsel, told the Court that when the security of the State was in danger the rights of individual subjects should give way to the paramount interest of the State. Under the Act, Parliament had determined that any person who acted in a manner prejudicial to the security of the State might be deprived of his rights. (*Manchester Guardian*, December 31, 1958.)

Subsequently the Minister of Information, Mr. Kofi Baako, announced that the two Opposition M.P.s, Mr. Amponsah and Mr. Apaloo, at present detained for allegedly plotting a *coup d'état*, would not receive a court trial.

The *Manchester Guardian* (January 3, 1959) said that meanwhile the

two men had been served with the grounds of detention and their replies were being awaited. Lawyers were being prevented from seeing them, according to Mr. Baako, who explained that lawyers had nothing to do with the case, since there would be no trial. Mr. Baako vehemently denied suggestions that the story behind their arrest and detention had been "cooked up" by the Government. He said that Government members first heard of the story at a Cabinet meeting when army and police authorities rushed in to inform Premier Nkrumah about the whole affair.

It has been reported that Major-General A. G. V. Paley, the British officer who commands the Ghana Army, has named a Ghana major as being implicated in the plot. This major is said to have been used as contact man. He took no part in the plot, but faces disciplinary action for not reporting the approach to his superiors. (*News Chronicle*, December 22, 1958.)

Subsequently an Accra judge directed that notices for a writ of habeas corpus be served on the Prime Minister and two other officials in respect to Mr. R. R. Amponsah, general secretary of the United Party, and Mr. M. K. Apaloo, member of its executive committee. (*Manchester Guardian*, January 13, 1959.)

### Dr. Nkrumah and Mr. Nehru

Cyril Dunn writing in the *Observer* (December 28, 1958) described a civic reception in the shivering cold of the Red Fort, New Delhi. Dr. Nkrumah spoke of the difficulties which confronted nations recently liberated from colonial rule. He praised India for her progress in spite of them. But at a Press conference on December 29 he told questioners he saw no incompatibility between the aim of African liberation proclaimed at the recent Accra conference and Ghana's membership of the Commonwealth. "You know," he said, "that the Commonwealth is an association of free and independent states, like a family in which each member has his own interests: I don't think that membership of the Commonwealth interferes with anybody's freedom to choose his own policies."

### School of Law Opened

Mr. Justice W. B. Van Lare, Acting Chief Justice, said at the opening of the Ghana School of Law in Accra that "judges do not take instructions from any authority but from the law. We have accepted the basis of British justice which is acclaimed to be the best in the world and upon that rock we are founding our school. What do Englishmen mean by the rule of law? In a sentence it means that everyone counts for one in the eyes of the law; there are no favourites; all citizens are equal starters before the law and in the application of the law by the judges."

"The law and the constitution provide that it is the function of the court to decide whether an act is right or wrong; and an act which may be a subject of adjudication may be the act of the Government, the act of a Minister, or the act of any individual. It must be the courts which must decide whether the act in question is right or wrong and I wish to impress upon my hearers that any impression elsewhere that it is for Parliament to decide whether an act is right or wrong is unfortunately an erroneous impression. It is not necessary for me to say where and by whom that impression has been made, but all my concern here is that that erroneous impression must be removed."

"It is true that Parliament is supreme: it is true that Parliament could make laws which the courts must interpret and obey, but as far as the courts exist and Parliament has not made any law to abolish or close those courts or rid them of jurisdiction, it is for them to decide whether an act is wrong or right, and in deciding whether an act is wrong or right, it is not an imaginary right or wrong nor is it ethically right or wrong nor is it politically right or wrong. It is right or wrong according to law and that is the purport of justice, that is justice according to law." (*Ghana Daily Graphic*, December 30, 1958.)

### Appeal Against Sahara Test

Ghana has appealed in the United Nations to the Big Powers to stop nuclear tests, and particularly to France not to carry out the proposed atomic tests in the Sahara. Mr. Ako-Adjei, the Minister for Labour and Co-operatives, speaking in the General Assembly's Political Committee, outlined the views of Ghana on the subject of disarmament and the dis-

continuance of nuclear tests. Pointing out that the two subjects were not the exclusive concern of the Big Powers and the so-called "Atom Club" he said: "A certain minimum quantity of armaments is always essential for the service of any state. The requirements of internal security and national defence are two main considerations which should determine the level of armaments which any nation should reasonably possess. Man is not the enemy of his fellow man and if we are able to establish mutual confidence in our relations with one another, we shall not continue to live in the nightmare of constant fear in which the whole of mankind finds itself. It baffles our imagination to understand why the Great Powers are at present engaged in the armaments race. . . .

"Centuries before Europeans began the domination and partitioning of the African continent there was constant warfare among our various tribal groups. In that period of our history whole communities, tribes or nations lived in constant fear of one another. With the coming of European civilization into Africa a ray of hope began to develop. . . .

"Africans began to hope and develop confidence in the ability of Europeans to maintain peace and harmony in the world by reason of the comparative advance in their civilization. However, the incidence of two great world wars in recent history has tended to undermine the confidence of many Africans in the ability of the advanced countries to maintain peace and harmony in our world today. . . .

"The people of Africa are very much alarmed by the report that one of the nuclear powers, namely France, intends to carry out atomic tests in the Sahara desert. We appeal to the conscience of France not to carry out any such intentions in Africa; and we also appeal to the four nuclear powers to agree among themselves to discontinue nuclear tests in any part of the whole world." (*Ghana Today*, November 12, 1958.)

## GUINEA

### U.N. Membership

THE United Nations General Assembly elected Guinea as its eighty-second member. There was no opposition, and no vote was taken. The French representative said he would have to abstain if a vote were taken.

### Establishment of the Republic

On November 10, 1958, the National Assembly adopted unanimously the Constitution of the independent and sovereign republic of Guinea. By this Guinea becomes a "democratic, secular and social" republic, with "equal, direct and secret" universal suffrage. The members of the National Assembly are elected for five years: and must meet at least twice a year for sessions not exceeding two months in duration. The republic can make agreements of "association or community", which involve partial or total abandonment of sovereignty in order to achieve African unity, with any African State. All citizens without distinction of race, sex or religion enjoy freedom of speech, of press, of meeting, and of association. No one can be arbitrarily detained. Trade union rights and the right to strike are recognized. Every act of racial discrimination, as also all propaganda of a racist character, is punishable by law. The republican form of the State is not subject to Constitutional Revision, but other matters in the Constitution can be changed by a two-thirds majority of the National Assembly or by a referendum.

M. Sekou Touré, in a radio speech, said the Constitution was inspired by the revolutionary dynamism the basic principles of which had been defined during twelve years of hard anti-colonialist struggle. (*La Liberté* (Guinea), November 21, 1958.)

## Nigeria

### Minister Praises Trade Unions

THE third conference of Ministers responsible for Labour matters was presided over by the Federal Minister of Internal Affairs, Labour and Welfare, Mr. J. M. Johnson. Delegates came from all the regions as well as from the Federal Government.

Mr. Johnson said that in the period April to September this year only 14,000 man days—one-hundredth part of 1 per cent of potential production—were lost due to strikes, whereas the amount forfeited by one statutory holiday was fifty times as much.

"Many trade unions and their leaders," he said, "have manifested a high sense of responsibility in their dealings and negotiations with employers and many issues are daily settled without any noise or fanfare. There are a few unions, however, who have resorted frequently to the press and radio and have sometimes given a rather distorted impression of the state of industry in Nigeria. The Ministry is doing all in its power to channel the activities of these unions into the established machinery for the settlement of disputes."

The Minister concluded, "The only way to reduce this minute percentage [of strikes] to zero would be to abandon the freedoms which are enshrined in our constitution in favour of a régime such as exists in some parts of the world. In other words, a man's skill does not belong to himself to sell or withhold, but belongs to the State, to be evaluated arbitrarily and directed by bureaucrats. . . ." (*News from Nigeria*, December 6, 1958.)

### Moving Out of Regional Politics

The Premier of Eastern Nigeria, Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, is to stand as a candidate in the Federal elections that will take place later this year. Dr. Azikiwe's decision followed a unanimous resolution of the Executive Committee of the N.C.N.C. expressing the belief that "in the interests of the nation and the Party and in consonance with the wishes of the people, Dr. Azikiwe should be a member of the Federal Legislature".

Chief Awolowo, Premier of the Western Region, has indicated that he will stand as a candidate in the Federal elections. The Sardauna of Sokoto, however, has said that he does not intend to try to enter the Federal House. It is believed that Dr. Endeley, Premier of the Southern Cameroons, will not stand as a Federal candidate either.

In the circumstances, the Governor-General's choice of the next Federal Prime Minister—depending on which party wins a majority in the Federal elections—would seem to be between Alhaji Abubakar, the present Federal Prime Minister, who will lead the N.P.C. Federal team, Dr. Azikiwe (N.C.N.C.), and Chief Awolowo (Action Group). However, the choice facing the Governor-General may be complicated if, as rumours in Nigeria persistently suggest, the N.P.C. and the N.C.N.C. enter the elections as allies. (*West Africa*, January 17, 1959.)

### Staff Position in Federal Government

An analysis of the staff position in the Federal Public Services as at November 1, 1958, shows that there were 39,234 posts on the establishment for which there is current provision, according to statistics published by the Federation of Nigeria Official Gazette, December 4.

The analysis reveals that in the next four months twenty overseas officers and forty Nigerian and West African officers will leave the service.

During the preceding one month period 387 pensionable and 134 contract officers were appointed. In the same month 321 pensionable and fifty contract officers left the service. So that during the month the intake was 521 and the wastage was 371.

### Action Group Success

The Action Group claims a double victory in by-elections to the Federal House of Representatives. The Action Group retained Oyo South seat with an increased majority and captured the Ado Ekiti seat from the National Council for Nigeria and the Cameroons. Both these constituencies are in the Western Region.

At the same time, the Action Group/United Middle Belt Congress alliance has gained control of Jos Native Authority Council in the Northern Region. This is the second democratically elected council in the whole of the Northern People Congress-dominated Northern Region. The first was Ilorin Native Authority which was also won by the Action Group and its allies. (*Ibadan*, December 16, 1958.)

Mr. Obafemi Awolowo, president of the Action Group Party and Premier of Western Nigeria, addressing an All-Nigerian Action Group Congress in Kano, underlined the great significance of the extension for the first time of genuine party politics to the Northern Region. Referring to

past refusals by the Northern authorities to allow him to campaign in the Region and to the guarantee of freedom of assembly and free speech secured at his own insistence at the recent London Constitutional Conference, he said: "There is nothing now that anyone can do to stop me coming to the Northern Region. We are now succeeding everywhere in establishing our right to campaign in the North as a whole.

"It is imperative that our Action Group Party shall win the next Federal election—not least for the sake of the people in the Northern Region, the last stronghold of oppression and tyranny against the masses in Nigeria. We must end these evils and to do so we shall fight on every front and in every constituency throughout the whole country." (*Kano*, December 14, 1958.)

### Union of West Africa

The *Daily Service* (Lagos, January 1) reported a speech by Chief F. R. A. Williams, Western Region Minister of Justice and Attorney-General, in which he said that the dream of a West African Union could not be a reality "until at least after fifteen years". In order to make the emergence of such a Union possible the various units concerned ought to encourage and foster economic co-operation. The Action Group believed that such a Union was a worthy objective because it would enhance the prestige and economy of West Africans as well as facilitate trade and intercourse among the various peoples of West Africa; but it would be dangerous for any Government to plunge Nigeria into such a Union before properly investigating its implications. West Africans should be encouraged to feel at home in other West African States. Politicians should preach the common identity to the people. The Ghana deportations might jeopardize the prospect of a Union of West Africa; Nigerians must see to it that federalism and democracy took root in the country.

Chief Williams criticized the basis of representation at the Accra Conference and expressed the hope that such an anomaly would be avoided in the future. The Action Group delegation had made it clear at the Conference that the Ghana-Guinea union did not carry the importance which had been attached to it by Dr. Nkrumah in the context of West African Union. The population of Ghana and Guinea was not more than that of Western Nigeria. It was wrong to suggest that this could be the nucleus of a United States of West Africa; if there were to be such a nucleus it was Nigeria.

### Christian Missions in the North

The Sardauna of Sokoto, Premier of the Northern Region, in company with the Bishop of the Region (the Rt. Rev. J. E. L. Mort), addressed a meeting in Jos of heads of Protestant missions.

In a lengthy and frank appraisal of the Government's attitude toward Christian missions, during which the sincerest gratitude was expressed for the great contribution which the missions had made in increasing education in Northern Nigeria, the Premier said: "I wish to assure you that we believe that this Region cannot get on without overseas interests and that all who genuinely wish to serve our people will always be welcome. At the same time I want to emphasize two things: Firstly, our Government is a Government of Northerners, both Muslims and Christians; we wish to allow all men to practise their religions as they wish . . . and, secondly, . . . we do not wish our young men to lose their respect for authority—whether that authority be their fathers, their village or district head or their chief.

"I know that there can be difficulties in areas where the rulers are Muslims and the bulk of their people are not; and I know that it is in these places that the young men may lose their respect for their elders. We do not want them to lose this respect and here you have an important part to play by teaching your young men that differences in religion must not mean that they can do what they like and ignore those who are set in authority over them. . . ." (*Northern Nigeria*, December 1958.)

### I.L.O. Field Office Established

The first African office of the International Labour Organization is being set up in Lagos. Mr. C. W. Jenks, an Assistant Director-General of the I.L.O. who is touring Africa, will be present at the opening ceremony.

The first director is to be Mr. J. B. Orizet, who has had experience in the

Near and Middle East offices. The Field Office in Lagos will enable the I.L.O. to maintain closer contact with the African member states and local government authorities in dealing with technical assistance and other development problems.

The I.L.O. has awarded a Fellowship to Mr. T. E. A. Salubi, Acting Deputy Commissioner of Labour in the Ministry of Labour and Welfare. The Fellowship, awarded under the I.L.O. Programmes of Technical Assistance and tenable at Washington, U.S.A., is for an advanced study in federal labour administration to be conducted by Technical Assistance experts. (*News from Nigeria*, January 10, 1959.)

## British Cameroons

### U.N. Plebiscite Asked For

THE U.N. Trusteeship Committee heard a statement by Sir Andrew Cohen (United Kingdom), explaining his Government's views on possible United Nations action concerning the future of the trust territory of the Cameroons under British administration.

Sir Andrew first observed that the occasion of his statement was the recent statement made by France announcing the independence of the Cameroons under French administration, as from January 1, 1960. The United Kingdom warmly welcomed this statement and also the statement made by the Prime Minister of the French Cameroons, who had made it abundantly clear that his people would welcome the people of the Cameroons under British administration if they wished to join the French Cameroons in the latter's independence.

He recalled the proceedings of the Nigerian Constitutional Conference in October, which had been attended by representatives of the British Cameroons. The most important agreement reached had been that Nigeria would become independent in October 1960.

Sir Andrew recalled that the Northern and Southern regions of the British Cameroons were geographically separated by Nigerian territory. In 1957, the Southern Cameroons had, "for all practical purposes", been given the full status of a region. The Northern Cameroons, on the other hand, was administered as part of the Northern Region of Nigeria. These arrangements had been made in accordance with the wishes of the people.

Sir Andrew recalled that the Southern Cameroonians' Coalition Government wanted "full legal status as a region", and the Opposition wanted "secession from Nigeria". The question had therefore been deferred until after the elections in the Southern Cameroons to be held in January 1959. The London Conference had declared that if the Southern Cameroons wished to become a "fully self-governing region" of independent Nigeria, it would be welcome to this status.

Sir Andrew pointed out that, in this event, the trusteeship agreement for the territory would have to be terminated since, obviously, the United Kingdom could not exercise any authority over part of independent Nigeria. It was therefore necessary that a plebiscite, under United Nations supervision in the Southern and Northern Cameroons, should take place. (*U.N. Press Release*, November 15, 1958.)

A recommendation that the General Assembly be reconvened on February 20 to consider the future of the British and French Cameroons, in the light of reports expected to be available then, has been made by the Trusteeship Committee. (*The Times*, November 28, 1958.)

The recommendation, which was subsequently accepted, was made without objection and without a formal vote.

## Sierra Leone

### The Economic Position

PROFESSOR JACK in describing Sierra Leone's economic position said it was a poor country by all the tests which may be applied, but in the course of the present decade it had experienced a very rapid economic expansion. The country is turning increasingly from an agricultural to a mining economy and Professor Jack thinks that the encouragement of new



mining enterprise should be one of the Government's principal objects, particularly because mining tax raises Government revenue significantly without affecting the rates of tax on individuals.

It is urged that the Government should at an early date undertake 'a complete reappraisal of its rice policy'. Professor Jack, in fact, advocates the import of rice freely into the country and that domestic rice subsidies should be confined to special areas where for social reasons the government thinks rice production should be encouraged.

However, despite the dramatic growth in the mining industry in recent years, Professor Jack considers that agriculture must continue to hold a substantial place in the economy and he is concerned, therefore, that agricultural methods should be improved and enterprise encouraged. Such an expansion will take a long time, but, he believes, it will be facilitated, particularly in the Protectorate, if the present system of land tenure is abolished and an individual freehold system is introduced. (*West Africa*, December 13, 1958.)

In *West Africa* (January 3, 1959) their Freetown Correspondent said that the Colonial Development Corporation's second investment in Sierra Leone (its first was in the new hotel now being built in Freetown) will probably be in oil palm and rubber plantations. In 1957 Sierra Leone exported palm kernels worth over £2 million—but very little palm oil—which has had to be imported in some years.

Perhaps even more important than the news that large-scale palm cultivation is to be started is the suggestion that C.D.C. may assist in establishing rubber plantations. Here again the suitability of Sierra Leone's land and climate has long been known—but little has ever been achieved. Last July, however, following the visit of the Governor to Liberia, where he inspected the Firestone plantations at Harbel, the Minister of Trade and Industry, Mr. I. B. Taylor-Kamara, and the Director of Agriculture made a special journey to study the Firestone plantations—the largest in the world. Perhaps Sierra Leone can now follow our neighbour's example.

## OTHER AFRICAN TERRITORIES

### Belgian Africa

#### Programme of Reforms

KING BAUDOUIN of the Belgians, announcing the programme of reforms for the people of the Congo, said: "The object of our presence in the Dark Continent was defined by Leopold II: to open these backward countries to European civilization, to call their peoples to emancipation, liberty and progress, after having saved them from slavery, disease and poverty.

"In continuance of these noble aims, our firm resolve today is to lead, without fatal evasions but without imprudent haste, the Congolese peoples to independence in prosperity and peace.

"In a civilized world, independence is a state which unites and guarantees liberty, order and progress. It is unattainable without solid and well-balanced institutions, an experienced Civil Service, a well-founded social, economic and financial organization in the hands of tried technicians, the intellectual and moral training of the people without which a democratic régime is nothing but mockery, trickery and tyranny.

"We are determined to achieve these basic conditions and we intend to devote ourselves to this aim in an enthusiastic and cordial combined effort with our African peoples. . . ."

"The task of guide and counsellor which falls to us in the Motherland and to Europeans in the Congo must be continued, but at the same time transformed and diminished in accordance with the progress made.

"Nevertheless, far from wishing to impose European solutions on these peoples, we intend to favour original adaptations which are in accordance with their character and with the traditions dear to them. In this respect, a wide decentralization, in conjunction with a rapid extension of the elec-

toral system and the removal of all discrimination between White and Coloured people, will allow for a speedy and diversified expansion of the regions according to their geographical, cultural and racial peculiarities and their economic development." (January 13, 1959.)

The Prime Minister, M. Eyakens, announced the Government's intention "to organize in the Congo a democracy capable of exercising the prerogatives of sovereignty and of deciding the question of its independence".

He continued: "In the political field, a state must be provided with stable institutions which guarantee a viable democracy; it must respect human rights and the duties which these rights imply.

"In the economic field, the country's prosperity can only be achieved by the work of its inhabitants and by an atmosphere of confidence. . . .

"On the social level, intellectual and manual workers, working for wages or independently, must attain a decent standard of living. An expanding economy will make it possible for this standard to be raised.

"The realization of our final objective will be pursued without pause, with the collaboration of all the inhabitants of the Congo.

"The power to decide for themselves will be given progressively in increasingly extensive fields and in democratic forms, as and when the transformation of the system, which will be carried out progressively but at an increased pace, takes place.

"In any case, no measure affecting their future will be taken without prior consultation of the political organs functioning at the time. . . .

"Political structures at the various levels must draw their authority and their legality from universal suffrage. Elections must not be a caricature of democracy; the right of suffrage will be regulated according to the level of the elector. Democracy demands the effective separation of powers. . . .

"A timetable will be fixed for the attainment of definite aims, taking into account the necessary stages of democratization. . . .

"At the end of the period of development, it is desirable in the interest of both countries that the connecting links should be maintained between the Congo and Belgium, who will both decide this question freely at that moment."

The Prime Minister then announced that the communal councillors and the great majority of the members of the *conseils de circonscriptions* in the rural areas would be elected by universal suffrage.

"It is at the level of these basic communities that all the inhabitants of the Congo will be politically incorporated in the Congolese community, with equal rights and duties," he said.

"The 'territory', the basic regional unit, will be administered by a Council composed in its large majority by councillors elected by universal suffrage. These elected councillors, together with the communal councillors, will form the electoral college which will designate the majority of the provincial councillors, and later the general councillors.

"It is planned that the communal and territorial councils will be elected at the end of 1959. The new provincial councils will be established for the session of March 1960. The General Council of the Congo which will replace the present Government Council will be the first draft of a Chamber of Representatives.

"A Legislative Council will be established, which will be the first draft of a Senate. It will be composed of members elected chiefly by the provincial councils and of nominated members like those of the present Colonial Council which it will replace.

"From March 1959, each provincial council will nominate two councillors who will sit in the Legislative Council.

"The General Council and the Legislative Council will jointly have the degree of legislative power and the authority to take decisions which will be progressively granted to them by law." (January 13, 1959.)

The *Manchester Guardian* (January 14, 1959) pointed out that Belgium had "set aside the idea of a federal state, the parts of which might differ widely in their internal form—an arrangement which would have allowed the European inhabitants to retain a dominant position in the few parts of the country in which their strength is concentrated. . . .

"Apartheid is ruled out; so is 'partnership' in the sense of two racial groups co-operating only as distinct groups. This is stiff medicine for the settlers to take; and it may be largely for this reason that the King, whose authority they are less likely to dispute than the Government's, took his part in the declaration of national policy. . . .

"The timing of political evolution matters the more when its start has been so long delayed. Only a few years ago the Colonial Office in Brussels was speaking in terms of self-government in fifty years or so. Since then the long dormant political instinct of Africans in the Congo has begun to manifest itself, and Brussels has had to move rapidly to catch up with it. Has it moved rapidly enough? It is a misfortune that yesterday's declaration did not come before the recent disturbances at Leopoldville. To be sure, it was prepared before the Leopoldville outburst. But coming after, it loses something of the initiative; and some of those who might have co-operated readily with the new policy if proclaimed a year ago may now have committed themselves in some other direction. This is the penalty of being behind the times. But Belgium must have credit for beginning now to make up for lost time."

### Riots in Leopoldville

Over forty Africans (some estimates said at least 200) were killed and 208 Africans and forty-nine Europeans injured in riots when looting and shooting took place. Ninety-six Africans were arrested, including Joseph Kasabuvu, leader of the Abako Association and Mayor of Dendale, a Leopoldville suburb. The Belgian Lower House of Parliament was recalled and it was agreed to send out an official commission to investigate the outbreak. (*Daily Telegraph*, January 9, 1959.)

Describing the background to the trouble the *Manchester Guardian* (January 8, 1959) said that the municipal elections of December 8, 1957, when in Leopoldville 50,958 literate male Africans, out of a total African population of about 350,000, were eligible to vote, proved the strength of the political movement called Abako (Association du Bas-Kongo). Abako was originally set up as a cultural movement to protect the traditions of the Bakongo tribe that lives in the region between the Atlantic and Leopoldville. This tribe lives also in part of French Equatorial Africa, and especially in Brazzaville, the capital. Founded in 1950, Abako very rapidly became a political movement instead of a cultural one. When its leader, Joseph Kasabuvu, became Mayor of Dendale on April 25, 1958, he said that the elections had been a far cry from democracy. He claimed that Congolese Africans were now able to administer themselves. "There will be no democracy as long as elections are not general."

He demanded immediately a free press and freedom of association (all meetings have to ask for official permission), and outlined the programme of Abako, which is no less than a demand for full independence without any transition. This led to a general demand for more political rights. In June M. Pinzi, a nominated African representative in the Governor's Council, demanded that the liberties of the subject contained in the Charter of the United Nations should be applied to the Congo, that the city councils should get real powers and be elected on the "one man, one vote" basis, that the administration should be "Africanized", and that elections should be held for the provincial councils.

M. Pinzi asked that Belgium should emphatically state that independence for the Congo was the aim of its colonial policy, and that the Belgian Government should start at once to take the necessary transitional measures. One African dissented, and the presiding Governor, M. Petillon, ruled the motion out of order.

Another important change took place in the "Mouvement National Congolais", a loose assembly of various African political groups. Its president, M. Patrick Lumumba, went to the Accra Conference in December and proclaimed there "Vive l'indépendance Congolaise, vive l'Afrique Indépendante".

On Boxing Day, M. Kasabuvu declared that they would never accept anything other than independence and that they were not prepared to collaborate with the Government on any other basis. . . . They used a political meeting which the Government had forbidden and the seasonal unemployment among the Bakongo tribe to start a revolt which they knew was bound to be forcibly suppressed, and to get martyrs.

The *Times* (January 7, 1959) mentioned special causes which helped to spark off the trouble in Leopoldville. The vast *cité indigène* has been stricken with unemployment. Moreover, Brazzaville, the capital of French Equatorial Africa, just across the river, has been the scene of several riots in recent years which may not have been without their effects on Leopoldville Africans.

## French Africa

### The French Community

THE eleven territories of French Africa which accepted the new Constitution<sup>1</sup> have all opted to become autonomous republics and federal members of the Community. Several leaders of the territories have expressed their intention of forming "primary federations" within the Community. M. Gabriel D'Auboussier, until recently president of the Grand Conseil of A.O.F., said: "There can be no French-African community, if there is not in the first place an African community. . . . Division is what we must fight." M. Houphouët-Boigny, president of the R.D.A., told the Ivory Coast Assembly that Ivory Coast would never accept any form of "primary federation"; he later advocated technical co-operation through a Council consisting of the Prime Minister and Presidents of the Assemblies of the different states in the Community.

M. Barthelemy Boganda, Prime Minister of Oubangui-Chari, and president of the Grand Conseil of A.E.F., advocated that the four territories of A.E.F. should become a single "Central African State" (Oubangui-Chari has turned itself into a "Central African Republic"). M. Boganda also suggested a Latin African Federation which should include the four French territories, Belgian Congo, Ruanda-Urundi and Angola.

M. Boganda's proposals are opposed by the R.D.A. in the new Republic of Congo (formerly Moyen-Congo) under the leadership of the new head of the Government, Abbé Youlou Foulbert, whose party (R.D.A.) gained a majority of one in the Assembly. Amid scenes of disorder, Abbé Foulbert announced the transfer of the capital of Congo from Pointe Noire to Brazzaville, where he is the elected Mayor. (*West Africa*, November 22 and 29, December 6 and 13, 1958; *Ghana Daily Graphic*, December 10, 1958.)

Hella Pick (*Ghana Daily Graphic*, January 5, 1959) wrote: "At Bamako, capital of French Sudan, the Prime Ministers of Senegal, French Sudan and Dahomey agreed on the desirability of federating their three territories and have worked out a timetable for implementing constitutional proposals. The Governments of Ivory Coast and Niger remained, however, entirely hostile to the idea of federation and did not even send observers to Bamako. The Government of Mauritania sent observers, but there is still no evidence that this territory is willing to support anything except strong economic links between the countries of West Africa."

"Delegates from Upper Volta took part in the Bamako meeting and fully supported the proposals for federation, but it does not appear that they actually had a mandate from their Government whose attitude on federation is very ambiguous. . . ."

"If Upper Volta were to support federation then there would be a continuous series of federated territories from Senegal to Dahomey. If, on the other hand, Upper Volta decides against federation, then Dahomey would be separated from the other two states who are now also committed to federation. . . ."

"There was a majority of two in the Upper Volta Legislative Assembly for federation and the Moro Naba, the leading chief in the territory, supported it publicly. Subsequently, the Prime Minister of the territory seems partially to have withdrawn his support for federation and it has become obvious that strong pressure has been put on his Government by the Ivory Coast to have second thoughts on federation."

"The support for federation at Bamako meeting went across party lines. The project for federation seems to have the whole-hearted support of the P.R.A. Party which is at present strongly in control of the Government of Senegal and rather less surely of the Government of Dahomey."

"The R.D.A. is, however, clearly split on federation. The R.D.A. leaders of French Sudan who control the Government strongly support federation and so do M. Gabriel D'Auboussier and M. Doudou Gueye, a Senegalese who was until Guinea's independence one of its representatives in the Grand Conseil of A.O.F."

"The president of the R.D.A., M. Felix Houphouët-Boigny, and the other R.D.A. leaders of the Ivory Coast have not, however, one good word to say in favour of federation and it is clear that M. Hamani Diori, the new R.D.A. Prime Minister of Niger, takes the same stand."

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST VI, 3.

## Election Results in Somaliland

The results of the elections for the New Territorial Assembly held on November 23, 1958, were:

Party	Seats
Djibouti D.I.E.S.T. (Party for the Defence of Economic and Social Interests)	10
Union Démocratique Somalie	5
Action Démocratique de la C.F.S.	1
Dikhil-Ali-Sabieth Groupement Africain	5
Mouvement Démocratique Africain	1
Tadjoura-Obock Regroupement des Afars	8
Emancipation du peuple Afars	1

Seats were allotted proportionately, the total number of votes cast being divided by the number of seats available in each area. All but nine members of the old Assembly failed to secure re-election. The leader of the D.I.E.S.T. Party is Hassan Gouled. At Djibouti 73.9 per cent of the electorate voted, elsewhere about 60 per cent voted. (*Somaliland News*, December 8, 1958.)

## New Government in Niger

After the resignation of M. Djibo Bakary,<sup>1</sup> it proved impossible to form another Government. New elections were held at which only 20 per cent of the electorate voted (compared with 27 per cent at the March 1957 general elections and 38 per cent at the referendum). The *Union Pour La Communauté Franco-Africaine*, a group formed recently and consisting mainly of R.D.A. supported by the traditional chiefs, won forty-nine of the sixty seats; but their leader, M. Hamani Diori, failed to secure his re-election. M. Djibo Bakary, leader of the P.R.A., also lost his seat; the P.R.A. only won five seats. In the last assembly, the P.R.A. had forty-one seats and the R.D.A. nineteen seats. The new Assembly immediately voted that French Niger should become a republic and member of the French Community.

Despite his failure to secure re-election M. Hamani Diori has become Prime Minister. (*West Africa*, December 27, 1958.)

## Independent Togoland

The United Nations General Assembly agreed that French administered Togoland should become independent in 1960. The exact date will be set by France and the new Government of Togoland. (*Manchester Guardian*, November 15, 1958.)

The Prime Minister, M. Sylvanus Olympio, commenting on the Guinea-Ghana Union, said he wanted Togoland to enter an eventual African federation when it became independent in 1960. M. Olympio said he believed that the Guinea-Ghana Union would extend to other West African lands, but underlined the "huge problems" facing such a federation. (*West Africa*, December 6, 1958.)

## Cameroons Independence in 1960

In the Legislative Assembly, M. Ahmadou Ahidjo, the Prime Minister, announced that as a result of an agreement with the French Government, all responsibility for internal affairs would be transferred to the State of the Cameroons on January 1, 1959: France would support the proposal in the U.N. to bring her Trusteeship to an end; and that full national independence could be achieved by January 1, 1960. M. Ahidjo reaffirmed his Government's belief in the reunification of the two Cameroons. (*Etudes et Documents Camerouniens*, October, 1958.)

## Expulsion of Immigrants from Ivory Coast

Following riots in October and November 1958 in Abidjan, capital of the Ivory Coast, many thousands of immigrants were forced to leave the territory. They included over 1,000 Togolese and Dahomeen. The Dahomey Government decided to stop immigration to the Ivory Coast and has said that it fears these "racial" incidents may be repeated, and that the Ivory Coast Government has not done enough to check the ill-feeling between the different communities. (*West Africa*, November 1 and 8, 1958.)

In Ghana, where several thousand Ghanaian refugees arrived, the 'DIGEST VI, 3.

Governor-General, Lord Listowel, broadcast an urgent appeal for help and the Government sent four ministers to the Ghana-Togoland border to investigate the plight of the refugees, who are arriving by ship and by aeroplane. (*Manchester Guardian*, January 8, 1959.)

## Mauritania Joins French Community

Mauritania, which as an Islamic Republic has proclaimed itself a member of the Franco-African Community, lies between the two worlds of the Maghreb and Black Africa. Its racial and cultural ties are with the former, its economic interests with the latter. For centuries it has been cut off from the Maghreb by the Sahara desert. Most of its trade is with territories like Senegal, Sudan, and Gambia. The population of 650,000 consists of 450,000 *Bidanes* or Whites of mixed Arab and Berber stock, while the remainder are sedentary Negro tribes inhabiting the Senegal basin. Many of the *Bidanes* are Black, as a result of intermarriage with slaves, but there is no, or little, discrimination against them.

The economic future of the country depends on the iron resources of the hills near Fort Gourard. They are estimated to contain at least 125 million tons of haematite ore of 65-68 per cent iron content, though optimists put the reserves at double that figure.

Since 1952 Miferma, an international consortium of British, French, Italian and German capital, has been planning the exploitation of these reserves, and awaits the decision of the International Bank whether to put up a loan of 28,000 million francs (£20 million) towards the total cost of operations, assessed at 60,000 million francs.

Under the Prime Minister, M. Moktar Ould Daddah, the capital city, at present outside Mauritania itself at St. Louis in the Senegal, is being moved to a new site at Nouakchott. (*The Times*, January 7, 1959.)

## Portuguese Africa

### Assimilados in Mozambique

MARVIN HARRIS, Assistant Professor of Anthropology at Columbia University, U.S.A., who was in Mozambique in 1956-7 as a Fellow of the Ford Foundation's African Study programme, pointed out that over 99 per cent of the 6 million Africans were not citizens. They were classed as *indigenas* (natives) as distinct from the 4,349 who were classed as *assimilados* (assimilated citizens).

In such circumstances, Mr. Harris asked whether the Portuguese system of *indigenato* was not a version of *apartheid*? According to the law of 1927, which applied in 1950, individuals or descendants of the Negro race who do not cumulatively satisfy the following conditions are considered to be *indigenas*:

- speak Portuguese;
- not practise the uses and customs characteristic of the native way of life;
- have an occupation in commerce or industry or possess property from which a living can be earned.

Mr. Harris pointed out that in 1950 there were 164,580 Mozambique *indigenas* who could speak Portuguese and of these 56,720 could read and write. Almost 90,000 lived in Lourenço Marques and Beira and the great majority of them could be described as wage labourers. Mr. Harris suggests various reasons why so few Africans have become *assimilados* although qualified to do so. (1) A few, agriculturalists, white-collar Government employees and tribal authorities whose positions depend on their being *indigenas* would lose security or income. (2) Some consider *assimilado* status to be socially or politically undesirable. (3) Some are refused *assimilado* status, especially in the class of skilled or semi-skilled labourers. For this there are economic reasons, e.g. civilized bricklayers earn 120 escudos per day: uncivilized earn only eighty escudos. So long as such people remain they are subject to tight control through a curfew, pass system, labour contracts, etc.

Under the new law of 1954 the requirement for gaining *assimilado* status was made more rigorous: the applicant now has to demonstrate that he has achieved "the learning and habits which are presupposed for the integral application of Portuguese public and private law". The interpretation of this is left to the administration. This new vision of "civilization", Mr.



Harris suggests, has particularly in mind the increasing number of detribalized Africans, living in cities and adopting many European habits, but who will still have to remain as non-citizens or *indigenas*. Mr. Harris concludes: "The urban *indigena* no longer can be said to lack the cultural preparation normally expected for citizenship in a modern state, having in many cases surpassed the educational level and the standard of living characteristic of the mass of Portugal's peasantry." (*Africa Special Report*, November, 1958.)

## PAN-AFRICAN AFFAIRS

### The All-Africa Conference

THE All-African Peoples' Conference which met in Accra under the chairmanship of Mr. Tom Mboya of Kenya from December 5-13 resolved that a permanent organization should be established to promote understanding and unity among peoples of Africa; to accelerate the liberation of Africa from imperialism and colonialism; to mobilize world opinion in support of African liberation and to formulate concrete means and methods to achieve that objective; and to develop a feeling of one community among the peoples of Africa with the object of enhancing the emergence of a United States of Africa. This permanent secretariat will be in Accra, and will maintain sub-secretariats in other parts of Africa.

Speaking after he had taken the chair, Mr. Mboya said: "This is an historic occasion and I am sure that all who are here will recognize the significance of it." There was no doubt that the whole of the 200 million people of Africa were represented at the talks. He said that seventy-two years ago, nations—thousands of miles away from Africa—met in Berlin to decide on how to partition Africa. That meeting, he said, was known as the "scramble for Africa". The chairman added: "Some years ago in Britain a group of African students, among them Dr. Nkrumah, started to think of Pan-Africanism, of how to destroy and remove the artificial boundaries separating us as a result of the Berlin conference.

"The significance of this Conference is that whereas seventy-two years ago in Berlin the scramble for Africa started, today in Accra we announce to the whole world that these same powers that met to decide the partitioning of Africa will now decide with one firm voice to scam from Africa." (*Ghana Daily Graphic*, December 9, 1958.)

The first committee of the Conference dealt with Colonialism and Imperialism and its report tracing the history of European interest in Africa said: "In point of fact, penetration inland, the staking out of territorial claims, political conquest closely followed by the building of railways, capital investments in mining and agricultural enterprises and the promotion of European migration to the main areas of investment did not begin to take place until the last quarter of the nineteenth century when European capitalism and industrialism had developed to a point at which it could no longer be contained within the bounds of Europe. . . .

"Basically the prime mover of Imperialistic tendencies is the motive of economic aggrandizement of the Imperial powers by the exploitation of the resources of the territories under their domain. This is followed by or goes side by side with, political, social, cultural and/or religious domination of the subject territories. . . .

"The British in Britain enjoy parliamentary democracy and fundamental human rights—freedom of speech, freedom of association, freedom of movement, freedom of worship—but do not ensure the enjoyment of these rights to the fullest in their colonial territories. Thus while British rule in West Africa, Nigeria, and Sierra Leone, Gambia and the Cameroons under British Mandate, may sometimes be said to be benevolent, it leaves much to be desired in East and Central Africa, where autocracy and discriminatory acts of brutality and violence are perpetuated against the native owners of the territories by a European minority sponsored and sustained by their Imperial Government. . . .

"The imposition of a Central African Federation against the wishes of the indigenous population under the constitution which makes it possible for 300,000 Europeans to rule 7 million Africans is clearly indefensible and reflects no credit on Imperial Britain.

"The French for their part have followed a militant policy of integra-

tion of African colonial territories. Sometimes Imperialist France resorts to stirring discord amongst colonial nationalists—e.g. the recent incidents in Abidjan featuring street fighting between different sections of the community, as an instrument of colonial policy. In Belgian Congo, reputed to be the wealthiest of European holdings in Africa, the wealth is sustained for the benefit of the colonizing power by the sweated labour of the colonial inhabitants. The Portuguese apply a form of religious colonialism favouring only people of particular religious beliefs in public affairs and discriminating against those who do not conform to the particular religion endorsed by the State."

In the face of growing African nationalism, the Imperialist powers were increasingly co-ordinating and integrating their Imperialistic activities in the political and economic spheres. They engage in joint acts of unprovoked aggression such as Britain and France in the Suez Canal invasion, while other Capitalist powers condone and sometimes financially aid such reckless acts. An All-African Liberation Movement was advocated as the answer to this new threat from the metropolitan powers.

In the course of its deliberations, the first committee dealt with the question of South West Africa. The Rev. Michael Scott, representing the Herero peoples of South West Africa, was a member of the committee and in a speech to the plenary session of the Conference he explained that he was attending the Conference because those he represented had been prevented from sending their own chosen representatives from South West Africa. He said that despite the failure of the United Nations to have their land restored to them the African people of South West Africa had retained their confidence in the civilized peoples of the world. This was why they had asked him to represent them and commend their case to the Conference. "Africa must take this problem and these people to itself. I would appeal to you in the hope that some permanent organization will explore every possible means by which justice and freedom can be brought to South West Africa and South Africa herself can be rescued from the dreadful fate of becoming a petty little state controlled by religious bigotry in a great continent of people determined to be free and to see that justice is done to their fellow Africans."

The planning of the "final assault upon Imperialism and Colonialism" was referred to by Dr. Nkrumah when he addressed delegates at the opening of the Conference. Dr. Nkrumah was speaking as chairman of the Convention People's Party. He said: "This Conference must make a new appraisal of the position which exists in Africa today. We must here work out the new strategy and tactics for gaining our aspiration and objective, namely the freedom and independence of Africa. Our deliberations must be conducted in accord and our resolutions must flow out of unity, for unity must be the keynote of our actions." He explained that Africans did not want a simple materialistic civilization which disregarded the spiritual side of the human personality and man's need of something beyond the filling of his stomach and the satisfaction of his outward needs. They wanted a society in which human beings would have an opportunity of flowering, where the creative side of the people could be fostered and their genius allowed to find full expression.

"Fighters for African freedom," said Dr. Nkrumah, "I appeal to you in the sacred name of Mother Africa to leave this Conference resolved to rededicate yourselves to the task of forming among the political parties in your respective countries a broad united front, based upon one common aim and object; the speedy liberation of your territories. Down with Imperialism, let us say, down with Colonialism, down with racialism and tribal division. Do not let the colonial powers divide us, for our division is their gain."

The leader of the delegation from the Egyptian Confederation of Labour, Mr. Hamed Bakari, said Imperialist exploiters had lost almost the whole of Asia and now looked to Africa as their last chance.

Dr. F. Omar, of the Algerian National Liberation Front, was cheered when he declared that in his fight for freedom the African had to resort to any available device "including force and violence".

The head of the delegation from Ethiopia, Ato Getachew Mekasha, said the people of his country were in complete sympathy with their brethren in other parts of Africa who were still struggling for their freedom.

Dr. R. Mbulu, leader of the South African National Congress, said that the constitution of his country only permitted persons of European descent to be members of Parliament and to exercise a direct vote. Negroes were forbidden to practise such professions as medicine and law. "Every country which oppresses another," he said, "evolves techniques to maintain its supremacy."

A call to "free Jomo Kenyatta" was enthusiastically taken up by delegates in the course of a speech by Dr. Julius Kiano, leader of the Pan-African Freedom Movement of East and Central Africa.

#### Press Comment

The *Central African Examiner* (December 20, 1958) said: "Whatever else results from the Accra Conference, two significant historical facts are indisputable: for the first time, leadership of the Pan-African movement has passed decisively from overseas hands into those of Africa-born politicians. At the same time, a broad African nationalism has replaced the earlier narrow racialism. . . .

"How does Pan-Africanism fit into the East-West struggle? Nkrumah's Pan-Africanism leans towards Marxism in its economic concepts, but is heavily indebted to the West in its political concepts. As long as the advance of Pan-Africanism is regarded as a primarily political struggle, pro-Western leaders should control it. But if economic poverty and misery take front place, then the Pan-African leaders may follow Indonesia's Dr. Soekarno towards 'guided democracy' where individual liberties are sacrificed for economic expansion.

"The Pan-Africanists are neither impractical dreamers nor 'Kremlin stooges'. It would be dangerously foolish for Europeans with interests in Africa to dismiss them with these specious explanations."

Enoch Dumbutshena wrote in the *Central African Examiner* that to accomplish the establishment of an "African identity" or "personality" the new African nationalism must include a rejuvenated religious and political philosophy. Otherwise it cannot last. Christianity in Africa has identified itself with Western materialism and the political practices of the settlers; and it cannot, with its present attitude, inspire a new nationalism. A religion with an African foundation and incorporating the best in African religious emotionalism must be one of the philosophical foundations of a "new African nation". Christianity could yet achieve this—or Mohammedanism, which in Nigeria is winning ten converts to every one gained for Christianity. The desire, emphasized at Accra, to campaign for freedom using the Gandhian methods of non-violence and non-co-operation requires that, for the same measure of success as was achieved in India, such a campaign should be given a religious inspiration based on African traditions.

"It is also imperative to re-educate the White people, living in independent countries like South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, to accept Africans as fellow human beings. The African leaders who met at Accra should, if they are interested in building a new and flourishing nation, acknowledge the good that their 'oppressors' have done. And, in fighting for freedom and for individual liberty, leaders must not lose sight of the African 'personality' they intend to build, a personality free from fear and rid of the shackles of hate."

The *New Statesman* (December 13, 1958) said: "Twelve years ago the heart of the struggle against colonialism lay in Asia: Africa, apart from an occasional cry of pain or anger from the south, seemed to be sleeping—still the forgotten continent. . . .

"The existence today of residual political problems in, say, West Iran or Malaya only serves to remind us that in Asia the decisive anti-colonial battles have already been fought and won. The challenge we now face in Africa is a far tougher one. Psychologically today's cry of 'Africa for the Africans' is comparable with 'Quit Asia' of the past. And sooner or later it will have to be answered in comparable terms. But there are two vital differences. The politics of North, East and South Africa are bedevilled by White settlers who claim African land and European privileges as their right. Does 'Africa for the Africans' include them? If not, what is to become of them? The second great difference between Africa today and Asia of a dozen years ago is curiously relevant to the problem of the settlers. Neither British nor French colonialism has yet endowed the territories of Africa with Native Civil Services which can in any way be compared with those of India or even, say, of Burma or Indonesia."

The *Economist* (December 20, 1958) said: "The new permanent secretariat in Accra looks southwards and offers Ghana's championship to the masses in the still-colonial British, Belgian and Portuguese territories of Middle Africa. It also specifically challenges Egypt's bid for African leadership—and perhaps Russia's. The Conference is likely to inspire the nationalist leaders in these colonial areas to new efforts to achieve 'the political kingdom' as Dr. Nkrumah advised; but this is also likely to embitter relations with the local White settlers who stand in the way of a quick 'Gold Coast solution'. It may also embroil Dr. Nkrumah with the very countries from which he most needs help if his leadership in Africa is to rest on a firm economic foundation. At Accra he has thrown a lot of balls in the air: now he has to keep them up."

The *Rand Daily Mail* (December 19, 1958) said: "The more fanatical anti-Communists have seen a Red agent behind every palm tree in Ghana, while other observers saw a meeting of reasonable, sober-minded Africans trying to work out the future of a multi-racial society. . . .

"To the Nationalists, Accra was a hot-bed of Black jingoism, directed at ousting the White man in general from Africa and bent on the destruction of the Afrikaner in particular. In contrast a very different picture is drawn by Mr. Patrick Duncan, one of the Liberal Party's delegates to the Conference. Although he concedes that Communist-backed delegates tried to take the Conference by storm he relates how the small army of such delegates from Cairo was driven off with heavy casualties, only five of their number surviving to attend the talks. Mr. Duncan has also been insistent that the Conference was not anti-White . . . even when every allowance is made it is not possible for the Nationalist and the Liberal pictures both to be true. Perhaps this would be a fair comment: Accra was certainly not good news for the White man in Africa in his present frame of mind, but equally certainly it was not a Communist triumph in any degree."

### Afro-Asian Economic Conference

The Afro-Asian Economic Conference held in Cairo decided on the creation of an "Afro-Asian organization for economic co-operation" at chambers of commerce level. The aims of the organization are to increase economic collaboration between national federations of chambers of commerce in member countries by ways to be outlined in the charter, which in turn is to be drafted by a consultative committee consisting of eleven nations—China, Ethiopia, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Japan, Libya, Pakistan, Sudan, and the United Arab Republic.

Other resolutions called for expansion of payments and trade agreements, the industrialization of member countries to meet the threat of the European Common Market, exchanges of technical and financial aid, the creation of "pools" and unions among raw material producers and the creation of an Afro-Asian organization at governmental level to help to put all this into practice. (*The Times*, December 12, 1958.)

The *Manchester Guardian* (December 11, 1958) pointed out that the Conference, more representative of businessmen than politicians, had not shown so strong a pro-Soviet attitude as did the Afro-Asian "solidarity" conference of 1957.

The *Times* (December 15, 1958) commented: "While on the one hand it would be a mistake for the West to ignore the attempts made by the independent countries of Asia and Africa to improve their own economic relations, it would equally be unwise to try to counter Communist influence by pulling hidden strings. Independence should mean independence, and the lesson of the Cairo meeting is that any Communist attempt to tamper with it will be sure of a reaction."

### U.N. Economic Commission for Africa

The Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld, at the opening session of the Economic Commission for Africa said "It is already apparent that in some parts of Africa the colonial phase will prove to be of much shorter duration than in other continents. In other parts colonialism is becoming so markedly altered from its original form that it is hardly the same phenomenon which used to be identified under that word." It was precisely because of the rapidity of political and constitutional change in Africa that the concept of international organization appeared to be so uniquely fitted to the problems of economic development in Africa.

"New states are emerging in the historical process with geographical boundaries which in most cases are not best suited to the requirements of rapid economic growth. If such growth is to take place, concerted action and joint endeavours will be needed among countries and territories, each with its own complex economic and social patterns and with its own particular political status." The Commission could provide a flexible institution arrangement to aid Governments with their economic problems. He hoped that the Commission would be vigorous and would not hesitate to deal with challenging problems.

The conference elected Mr. Abebe Retta (Ethiopia) as chairman. Mr. Taleb Slim (Tunisia) and Mr. Richelieu Morris (Liberia) were elected vice-chairmen. The executive secretary of the Commission is Mr. Mekki Abbas of Sudan and its headquarters are in Addis Ababa. (*The Times*, December 30, 1958.)

Earlier the Government of the Union of South Africa announced that it would not take part in the Commission. It said that the terms of reference of the Commission dealt with Africa as a single and indivisible region, whereas the Union Government has always held the view that there is a division between the interests of the countries of the African continent south of the Sahara, and the interests of those bordering on the Mediterranean. Should the scope of the Commission's activities become clearer, the Government might be able to reconsider its decision. "Apart from the similarity of problems in the territories south of the Sahara, there are also ethnological and cultural differences between the two regions which cannot be ignored." (*Pretoria News*, December 15, 1958.)

At the conference, the independent states of Africa emphatically refused to link themselves with the European Common Market at the present time, but asked the executive secretary to study its implication for Africa. It was decided to study ways and means of facilitating economic co-operation between West African states, and to develop a single North African economic unit.

George Clay (*Observer*, January 4 and 11, 1959) commented: "There was perhaps no more significant pointer to the trend of events in Africa than the readiness with which Britain and other Colonial powers accepted their minority status in the Commission."

## GENERAL

### New Year Message

THE Secretary of State for the Colonies broadcast a New Year message on the General Overseas Service of the B.B.C. Mr. Lennox-Boyd said that some of his listeners might be wondering why there were still British colonies, or protectorates, or dependent or non-self-governing territories. He continued: "The responsibilities which Britain has today are the result of a long historical process, which created the complex relationship existing between Britain and each overseas territory. These relationships extend into the fields of trade and commerce, of finance, of defence and of human relations. Moreover they differ from territory to territory."

"In the course of centuries obligations and responsibilities have changed, and Britain has responded. Sometimes the response has not been as quick as the speed of change called for; and it must be one of our aims today to ensure that we do respond quickly. The steady constitutional progress of the overseas territories shows that in the political field we are well aware of this need. We have, too, developed financial and economic institutions of great flexibility, such as the Colonial Development and Welfare Acts. . . .

"The picture, then, is one of intricate relationships constantly changing. Why then, some of you may ask, do they not change more quickly away from dependence? But interdependence would frequently be a fairer word to use than dependence. The family association of Britain, the other members of the Commonwealth and the overseas territories, derive strength by standing together in an age in which though hardly any country, however great, can stand alone, the international community has not yet developed the institutions or found the resources, to take the place of the long-established and well-tried relationships which exist within the Commonwealth."

Reviewing the major events Mr. Lennox-Boyd referred to Sierra Leone's new constitution; direct elections on a qualitative franchise in Tanganyika; the first direct elections in Uganda; and the creation of a Legislative Council in Somaliland. (*Colonial Office Information Department*.)

### Secondary Education

Professor W. Arthur Lewis, Economic Adviser to the Government of Ghana, drew attention to the fact that secondary education was one of the keys to economic development. There is a whole range of jobs for which the qualification is a secondary education, with or without one or two years of specialized training to follow.

"If the country does not produce enough secondary school people, we have to import from abroad, paying twice the normal salary, plus about £1,000 a year in housing allowances, car allowances, leave passages to Europe every fourteen months, and so on; and this is one reason why our costs of production are so high. Alternatively, we have to abandon desirable schemes. For example, to have a proper agricultural credit system we must have small credit societies all over the country. These can work satisfactorily only if there are enough people living in the village with a secondary education to keep the books and records and to check that the secretary is not falsifying the accounts. Local government also breaks down unless there are plenty of secondary educated people around to act as clerks, committee members, and watchdogs."

"By back-of-the-envelope methods I have reached the conclusion that countries in our state of economic development are not self-sufficient in secondary school products until about 4 per cent of each generation is entering secondary schools. . . .

"In Ghana, which is better off than most, less than 2 per cent of the generation enters secondary schools, a deficiency which we are determined to remedy at full speed. When Imperial governments speak of preparing their colonies for self-government, they usually think in terms of votes and Ministers; an equally important aid would be to ensure that there are enough secondary schools to take 4 per cent of each generation, since without this the country will still be almost entirely dominated by foreigners, both in business and in government, even after it becomes independent—or else will not have much administration or business worth mentioning."

"It is also a fault of new self-governing cabinets to spend excessively on primary education, while neglecting secondary education. Most African politicians try to achieve universal primary education within five years, even when they start from a base of only 20 per cent in primary schools. Apart from what this does to the budget, it plays havoc with the economy, since the finished primary school products make a beeline for the towns, and the countryside tends to be starved of labour while the towns swell with unemployed juvenile delinquents. In Africa at present we need to keep 50 per cent of the children in agriculture, but educated children will not stay in agriculture as it now is, scratching three acres with a hoe; and revolutionizing agriculture to make it more attractive and more productive cannot be done in five years. . . .

"It seems to me that the right way for education to advance in Africa—where in most territories 20 per cent or less of children are in school—is to aim first to raise primary education to 50 per cent and secondary education to 4 per cent in the first five-year programme; and then to move to 100 per cent primary education and 10 per cent secondary education over the next ten years, by which time our absorptive capacity will, we hope, be very much greater." (*The Economist*, January 10, 1959.)

### Review of Economic Assistance

The Carnegie Corporation announced a grant of \$88,000 (about £31,428) to Radcliffe College, Cambridge, Massachusetts, for a review of economic assistance programmes to be made by Miss Barbara Ward, the British author and economist.

Approaching the subject from the point of view of the recipient countries, "Miss Ward hopes to arrive at some tentative conclusions about what type of agency—public, private, or international—is most effective; what are the most suitable types of economic aid; and what are the best political arrangements under which economic assistance programmes flourish." (*The Times*, November 26, 1958.)



## BOOK LIST

(Recent acquisitions to the Africa Bureau Library)

MELLANBY, Kenneth. *The Birth of Nigeria's University*. An account of the foundation and early years of the University College at Ibadan by its first Principal. Methuen. (Price 25s.)

RUTHERFORD, Peggy. *Darkness and Light*. An anthology of African Writing. Foreword by Fr. Trevor Huddleston, C.R. Faith Press. (Price 18s.)

LITTLE, Kenneth. *Colour and Commonsense*. A pamphlet on the colour problem written by a social anthropologist and published by the Fabian Society. (Price 2s. 6d.)

HANCE, William A. *African Economic Development*. Deals with particular major projects, such as the development of water power in Ghana and the Gezira cotton-growing scheme and is mostly compiled from research papers for a discussion group set up by the Council on Foreign Relations—a non-profit-making institution devoted to study of the international aspects of American political, economic and strategic problems. O.U.P. London. (Price 30s.)

PATON, Alan. *The people wept*. . . . This booklet dedicated to the memory of Christopher Gell describes briefly the origin and application of the South African Group Areas Act.

*The United States and Africa*. The Final Report of the Rocky Mountain Assembly, October 23-26, 1958, co-sponsored by the Social Science Foundation of the University of Denver and the American Assembly, Columbia University.

*University College of Fort Hare*. An illustrated summary of its history and administration.

*An Economic Survey*. Three pamphlets each issued by Barclays Bank, D.C.O., under this heading covering Tanganyika, Uganda and Kenya respectively.

### On sale at the Africa Bureau:

**PORTUGAL'S AFRICAN "WARDS"**—A first-hand Report on Labour and Education in Mozambique by MARVIN HARRIS, of the Department of Anthropology at Columbia University. Published by the American Committee on Africa. price 2s. 6d.

**THIS IS APARTHEID**—Quotations which set out what *apartheid* is and show the effect it has on the lives of the people of South Africa, by LESLIE RUBIN, who is a representative in the Senate of Africans from the Cape Province. Published by Gollancz. price 1s.

*The Editor of the DIGEST does not necessarily endorse the views of correspondents*

## AFRICA BUREAU ACTIVITIES

THE Rev. Michael Scott attended the All Africa People's Conference at Accra from December 5 to 12 as a representative of the African peoples of South West Africa. (See p. 160.) During his visit he was able to re-establish contact with Ghanaians and others in Accra interested in the work of the Africa Bureau and its publications. He also visited Freetown for a few days.

Both before and after the Conference several delegates paid brief visits to London. These included Mr. Tom Mboya, M.L.C., whose programme was arranged by the Bureau. In addition to meeting the Colonial Secretary, M.P.s and the Press, he addressed a meeting in Oxford and appeared on television.

Paramount Chief Undi, Senior Chief Shakumbila and Mr. Harry Nkumbula spent two weeks in London before going to the Conference. A Press conference was held for them at the Bureau and meetings were arranged at which they expressed their opposition to the new Constitution for Northern Rhodesia. (See pp. 128-9.)

Mr. Ntsu Mokhehle, the President-General of the Basutoland African National Congress, timed his visit to London to coincide with the talks on a new Constitution for Basutoland in order that the views of his Congress on constitutional and other matters affecting Basutoland could be made known to people in Britain. The Africa Bureau arranged for him to address a meeting in Cambridge and to meet interested groups in and around

London. A tour of housing sites being developed by the L.C.C. was organized.

Mr. M. W. K. Chiume, a member of the Nyasaland delegation to the Conference, is spending one month in London. His purpose is to inform people of the African National Congress's views on constitutional reform for Nyasaland and the Africa Bureau is arranging for him to address meetings in Scotland, Oxford and London.

Mr. Ronald Segal, editor of *Africa South*, met members of the Bureau staff and executive before returning to South Africa. He asked for our help in making *Africa South* known and in encouraging support for the Treason Trial Defence Fund. Mr. Segal recently completed a tour of the U.S.A. in aid of the fund.

Mr. Scott reported to meetings in Bristol and Birmingham on the discussions which were held at the United Nations relating to South West Africa. Miss Symonds and Miss Richmond have addressed meetings on the work of the Bureau and the African Development Trust.

A limited number of student subscriptions to *AFRICA DIGEST* will be available at half-price (12s. 6d. a year) as from February 1. Full-time students will be entitled to receive the *DIGEST* at this reduced rate until the end of their studies. Will those interested please apply to the Student Membership Secretary for further information.

### CORRECTION

Africa Digest Vol **VI**, No. 4 page 151

The paragraph under the heading New Good Offices Committee is based on an inaccurate newspaper report.

Representatives of the United States, Brazil and the United Kingdom will continue as members of the U.N. Good Offices Committee working for a solution of the South West African issue.



